BLACK FLAG

30p

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

Vol. VII No. 2 **Feb. 1983**

THE TAPEWORM TENDENCY

IS TROTSKYISM A LEFT WING DEVIATION?

As we pointed out in the Flag (Vol. V. No. 7) there are three main divisions of Marxist-Leninism:
1. Moscow line, the revised Stalinism;
2. Maoism, and its many splits and counter-splits: the old Stalinism sometimes interlaced with Bolshevik pre-revolution dynamism and sometimes with a total rejection of all Marxist dogmatism, as opposed to Leninist dogmatism;
3. The '57 varieties' of Trotskyism.

This in itself **makes the revolutionary party outmoded. Lenin's theory was based on the fact that there could only be *one* working class party – in defiance of the palpable fact that he had split from the main party (but that had 'sold out to the bourgeoisie'). In Leninist terms, the one party had the right to suppress all the others. But what if there were more than one Leninist party, each able to outbid or undercut the other?**

We cited Portugal, where the Communist Party was within an ace of seizing power, but it was outflanked by its rivals, who in turn could not take power because they too were outflanked by yet another. And this is the modern dilemma of Marxist-Leninism: there will now always be another minor party, the real "vanguard of the proletariat" underselling the rest for leadership.

HOW TO SOLVE THE DILEMMA?

When writing the article, we thought to suggest satirically that a decision on which one was the party of the working class, and the genuine 'vanguard', could be made by an appeal to the High Court of Justice. No doubt a decision by someone like Lord Denning or an appeal to the House of Lords would come down firmly in favour of the appeals of one or t'other. We didn't put this bit in thinking it was too flippant. We were wrong. You can't be too flippant when dealing with "Trotskyism – the Marxism of Today'. ***Such an appeal has gone through the courts, the finding being in favour of the Labour Party!***

TAPEWORM PRECEDENT

The so-called 'Right Wing' of the Labour Party has denounced the Militant Tendency as a tapeworm, working within the party for aims contrary to those of the party and its supporters. This is plain. This mistake they make is to assess the Militant Tendency in its own terms as a ***left wing tendency.*** Trotskyism is, and has always been – and was regarded by its parent party, the Communist Party – a ***right wing*** tendency. That it uses left wing phrases makes no difference – many fascist tendencies do that nowadays. This cannot be better shown than by the proposed appeal to the High Court, and if needs be the House of Lords – which, if successful, will mean that the National Front, British National Party ***et al*** will then be able to enter the Labour Party, as they have already entered the trade union movement, armed with a legal precedent against proscription. (Nor will they lack support amongst Labour Party racialists; perhaps a majority in the membership, although a minority in the leadership).

The Militant Tendency, it may be said, (and certainly will be said by other Trotskyists) is not the whole of Trotskyism. All Trotskyists, as we shall demonstrate here, are rightists in the sense of aiming at authoritarian power. But the Tendency – we shall no longer debase the name of ***Militant***, but call it by its true name, the Tapeworm Tendency – has hit on the secret of the Labour Party, which accounts for its present position riding on the crest of the waves. It has no influence among the working class. Its influence is solely in the Labour Party because of its black-mailing use of the "secret".

THE LABOUR PARTY 'SECRET'

The Labour Party may be, in Marxist terms, "a mass organisation of the working class'. But the working class hate it. They no longer belong to it. A few ageing veterans have kept the branches going. The caucus selects prospective MPs who in working class constituencies have beaten Conservatives easily because the vote goes on class lines. Thus all constituencies identifiable as working class have become safe Labour seats; constituencies identifiable as 'middle class' (or regarding themselves as such) have become safe Tory seats; and other constituencies are 'marginals'. To become a Labour MP with 30,000 votes one has need of the assent of half a dozen veteran reformists (to become a Tory MP with 30,000 votes one has need of £30,000, although this has increased with inflation). To introduce a mere dozen student and ex-student activist Trots into a constituency – if necessary, by moving into a bedsit – a Labour seat can be obtained for a "Revolutionary Socialist ". This is known as "entryism" and is the speciality of the Tapeworm Tendency.

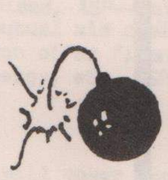
(A list of former Trots disproves that entryism is "Leftish": a present member of the Government, Lord Gowrie, came from the I.S. tendency, now SWP; Jock Haston moved to the extreme right of the Labour Party after his leadership of the RCP; Dan Smith involved the Labour Party in his business deals after moving from the RCP; Denis Healey, present rightist vice-chairman of the LP came from the Communist Party, it's true, but his campaign manager, Eric Varley came from the IMG, and Healey was later a member of the RCP as was the late Bessie Braddock : one could also instance the Tapeworm Tendency's own John Fairhall, Ted Grant's ex-flatmate, who is now a Tory candidate. A former Labour councillor tells me of a London Labour Party 'do' he attended with MPs, candidates, councillors, committee workers and officials, where he recognised – from his trot past – at least half of the 500

continued on page 12

JUST GOOD FRIENDS

'angry brigade'

Overcrowding in prisons, general repression and the murder of Barry Prosser earlier this year by screws in Winson Green Prison, are some of the reasons given by a group calling itself the 'Angry Brigade Resistance Movement', for the bomb attack on property belonging to the Prison Officers Training College in Wakefield. It is possible that the instigators were disturbed as the bomb, a minor device, only damaged a perpheral security fence. Alternatively, it could have been just a symbolic attack. If this is the case, then we should ask what was the point. The building itself was apparently under repair and in disuse. The follow-up raids, enabling the expropriation of the typewriters, address lists and other information – was inevitable, although its targets (12 Direct Action Movement members in Hull and Leeds, and the Premises of Freedom Press) was not.



Sixteen hours after the incident, a woman phoned the *Yorkshire Post* and explained that their aim was to damage property only. The local police claimed never to have heard of the Angry Brigade and later the same cops - Special Branch based at Wakefield - further showed their ignorance and incompetence when they made a mess of their 'raid' on Freedom, allowing people phonecalls and generally making fools of themselves. One London-based A.T.S. officer is reported to have said that it was unlikely that the Angry Brigade had re-formed (Does he mean the original group arrested and found guilty of certain attacks in the early 70's, or the real instigators of those attacks ?) Perhaps it's time they once more called upon the services of the Yard's 'Anarchist Expert', Inspector Cremer. He, we would hope, would teach these upstarts that it is not possible for the Angry Brigade to 're-form'. It wasn't an organisation, nor was it a single grouping - but an expression of the anger and contempt many people, up and down the country, had for the state and its institutions. In this sense, the Angry Brigade is with us all the time(the man or woman sitting next to you ?) - it neither appears or disappears (or re-forms) but is the natural manifestation of revolt when that revolt is directed at the heart of all that causes suffering: the state.

N.B.

About a year ago, an indication of the general level of unrest was given when a communique was published by 'Angry Brigade 2/I.R.S.M.) in Black Flag. This gave a clear and well-stated idea of the direction in which many of us are , and should be, going. Resistance can take on many forms, and the attack in Wakefield is just one of them. Unfortunately Barry Prosser's murderers - Melvyn Jackson, Eric Smith, Howard Price and others - still walk free. Barry's death is just one example of the kind of brutality prevalent in Britain's jails. The deaths of 'Cartoon' Campbell and Jim Heather-Hayes are more recent examples. Prosser, who was simply inside for 'criminal damage to a door handle', died of a burst stomach when the screws jumped on top of him while in the process of doing him in. His attackers later boasted that they would never be found guilty, and sure enough, they got off scot free.

It was this that forced Mike Waight to take direct action in protest. Mike, who is serving life in Winson Green, assulted 2 screws and climbed onto the roof of the prison to make his protest known. He had heard of the boasts of Prosser's killers and he had witnessed the continued violence and torture meted out against the inmates. During the trial Mike described such violence in detail.

Letters of support would, no doubt, be appreciated.

BLACK FLAG

BLACK FLAG/BLACK CROSS c/o
BoxABG 121 Railton Rd. London SE24

Published, typeset & layout by
Black Flag Collective

Distributed by @ Distribution.
84b Whitechapel High St. London E1.

Subscriptions UK £9.
Canada/Australia/N.Z./U.S.A. $34
airmail $17 seamail.

Printing		925.00
Postage ...		218.89
Stationery ...		
		1156.26
Sales to date	267.61	
Donations*	167.00	434.61
Loss		721.65
Deficit brought forward		4523.31
		5244.96
Written off**		5000.00
New deficit brought forward		£244.96

US: Italian comrades picnic $50/£25; London JT £10; GJ £12; TH £35; Friends of Kate Sharpley £50; PBG £5; Mrs W. £15; EW £15 – £167.00

** We have got fed up with perpetually carrying forward our deficit, which frightens every one who looks at it, so have finally "written it off". It represents over eleven years; it has accumulated . somewhat less than the Treasurer would have paid in cigarettes if he hadn't given up the habit so he rests content with the fact that it will never be met. We would have included it as a donation but it would have looked a bit incredible; it built up by insidious fives and tens over the years.....

PUBLICATIONS GROUP

We are looking into the idea of setting up a publications group specialising in the publishing of original research and the results of in-depth investigative reporting, joint international publishing projects and the reprinting of certain, recent, essential anarchist texts.
We are interested in hearing from anyone currently involved in counter-information and investigative studies, or from contacts overseas who wish to participate in mutual publishing and translations

BLACK FLAG IS COMPILING AN INTERNATIONAL LIST OF ANARCHIST PAPERS/JOURNALS (NOT BOOKS/PAMPHLETS). ANY ANARCHIST GROUP THAT PUBLISHES AREGULAR PARER SHOULD SEND IN DETAILS (INCLUDING CONTACT ADDRESS, SUBSCRIPTION RATES, ETC) IF THEY WISH THEIR PAPER TO BE INCLUDED ON THIS LIST.

MUTUAL AID / PRISONERS FUND

Total in hand £112.29
disbursedto Spanish families of prisoners £80.00
in hand £32.29

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

We will, with your help, continue to channel funds to comrades, to finance 'support actions', provide aid to libertarian prisoners and to those that defend them, and help out with equipment/resources needed for propaganda work. We will publish up to date news of struggles and document the actions and developments of the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement. But we need your active support. We need reports sent in regularly, we need translators, and we need further help in production and distribution.
We hope to publish regularly details of Black Cross contacts. Any collectives and individuals interested in being included in this list should send details.

SUPPLEMENTS / QUARTERLY

Against all odds we will be publishing additional issues of Black Flag in the form of news bulletins. These will cover urgent news items, local reports, news of arrests, campaigns etc, and we will need your help in providing regular report-backs.
The main paper will complement the news bulletin and from now on will be published as a quarterly. Its emphasis will be on investigation and in-depth reports etc. As well as an increased coverage for international news, there will be space provided for counter-information, particularly reports on fascists and fascist organisations, the military and security forces, policing and legal developments, and the media and business world.
Although Black Flag will be undertaking its own investigations and research, we ask all readers to actively participate in this section and to monitor local developments. Black Flag will also be working with the Anti-State Documentation and News Network (see report on Page: 11), providing additional space to the supplements for items supplied through ASDNN.

CORRESPONDENCE

All correspondence, including news reports, articles, translations, subscriptions, donations, comments, etc. to the address shown above. This is a temporary address as we are currently looking for a Black Flag/ABC office in London (any offers?) for production/research and documentation work.

DONATIONS / SUBSCRIPTIONS

Donations, subscriptions, subscription renewals should be separately identified. Cheques, postal orders, money orders etc should be sent to the address shown above on this page.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Why was nationalisation of the railways hailed in Britain in 1945 as a great Socialist triumph following a Labour victory hailed in Germany in 1881 as a great Conservative triumph following anti-Socialist laws?
2. Who first uttered the classical capitalist phrase "Money doesn't smell"?
3. How did Henry Ford, the car industrialist, propose to solve the world fuel problem and make a significant social reform at the same time?
4. What did Nestor Makhno, Anarchist leader of the revolutionary force in the Ukraine, tell the railwaymen when asked for an increase in wages, after the Whites had fled?
5. The first Anarchist bookshop in Belfast was smashed up by a mob - with the police standing by - after the first brick had been thrown by an Anarchist. How come?

Answers on page 11.

FAMILY TREE

IRSM: International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement. The name used to describe the recent and current extended campaigns of armed struggle

of armed resistance, characterised by the actions of certain groups/organisations (Action-Directe, GARI, MIL, 1st of May Group, Angry Brigade,etc)

ABC: Anarchist Black Cross. Federation of international contacts providing and channeling aid to anarchist prisoners and their support groups.

Black Flag: Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross. Circulates news about the ABC and the IRSM as well as general counter-information of interest to anarchists internationally.

ASDNN: Anti-State Documentation and News Network. An international clearing house for counter-information/news and research, Only recently set up it will attempt to provide aregular news service through the Black Flag News Bulletin and organise a mailing list for the circulation of urgent news items and details of a documentation index, etc.

The health workers dispute has drawn to its inevitable conclusion. Massi solidarity was shown and their failure was not through want of trying. Their demands were meagre, but the Government would not move an inch: ye another example of the present Govt.'s determination to squash all acts resistance or criticism to their extremist economic policies. But more disputes will occur and the resistance will continue - that too is inevi able - except that sooner or later non-traditional means of challenging the State's stranglehold will have to be adopted. The threat is not just to the living standards of the health workers but to the future and qual ity and accessibility of health services in this country.

A HEALTHY FUTURE

NHS & PRIVATE MEDICINE

The National Health Service is dying and degenerating fast: it has been kicked around and had its resources bled dry by successive governments. It is now but a rotting corpse. It is still one of the largest employers in the country, but has one of the worst records for low pay. 75% of its employees are women, making it the biggest employer of women in the country. It is also has a long track record for employing migrants: 60% of all hospital workers were born outside Britain..Its abuse of, and the way it takes advantage of its work force, is common knowledge. A degree of sacrifice, and voluntary labour, has always characterised health work. Prior to the formation of the NHS by Bevan most of the work undertaken in hospitals was organised through charitable organisations. Access to treatment was either through Private Insurance or through Savings 'Clubs', organised by the local community. If you were too poor to save regularly through a 'Club', basic treatment was reluctantly granted. But, arrangements were then ma for you to pay back the money owed, via instalments on a Loan basis. Inevitably, payments were not always maintained and the usual consequences were taken.

With the instigation of the NHS, Private medicine retained a toe-hold, with a clause i the Bevan bill allowing NHS doctors to practice part of their time privately whilst getting paid by the NHS. Organisations to help provide and fund Private medicine, such as B.U.P.A. who, until very recently, had held a virtual monopoly on the market - have expande their assets considerably since setting up in the early 60's. In 1979 the combined profits of BUPA and PPP (Private Patients Plan) were £38M. Their income (subscriptions) for that year was just over £90M, making a staggering profit of just over 30%. This was brought abo because of the arrangements whereby their annual profit returns are underwritten and guarranteed by insurers, which then allows them to invest large sums of money, prior to audits, in anticipation of profitability. The enormous profit margins have proved an embarrassment to both these companies *and* to the Department of Health & Social Security - who collaborate on the overall policy formulation - and as a result BUPA was forced to investigate alternative means of spreading (ie. covering up) its assets. Thus they then set up, with the aid of the Nuffield Trust, a 'independent Charity' to take on the job of building and maintaining Private hospitals as an 'additional resource' to that provided by the NHS. Currently BUPA now own over 130 of these establishments, having a total of more than 7,000 pay beds. This excludes the 3,000 pay beds in NHS hospitals, also maintained through these companies.

The use and abuse of Private facilities wi in the NHS set-up is extant. Part-time NHS doctors often delegate the care of their non-Private patients to junior doctors so as to spend more time - and earn more money - with their Private patients. All this is done on N time (and money). Another common abuse is in the training of doctors: this is undertaken through the NHS, but, often, as soon as the doctor is fully qualified, he/she leaves the NHS to use their expertise solely in the Priv ate sector. These abuses and many others are widely known but the NHS/DHSS turns a blind e as they have a calculated policy supporting t development of 'parallel services'.

DRUGS AND CAPITALISM

This policy has a spin off in the collabor ation between the NHS/DHSS and the Drugs Mark Two-thirds of the world market for drugs is owned by around 50 multinationals. Price-fixi in direct collaboration with State Health Services is common practice. Through years of successful bargaining the NHS/DHSS has established itself as a major world buyer and nego iator and many Drug Companies now use the prices fixed through the NHS as their benchma for the rest of the world, with the NHS/DHSS playing a similar role to what OPEC performs relation to oil price-fixing. The result is chat prices paid in India, for example, are invariably the same, if not higher, than thos paid in Britain, with the NHS benefiting in t

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

long run.

Despite this 'Special Relationship', price fixing and highly competitive marketing ensures that the business of selling drugs is one of the most cut-throat going. Drugs are invariably sold not for their medicinal qualities, but because of the need to establish a market share. There is, however, no difference between a branded tranquilliser, for example, and a non branded generic one. Yet the price difference can be considerable. G.P.'s are constantly bombarded with the hard-sell promotions shoved out by the Drug Companies., each attempting to establish their particular Brand as the Market Leader. The promotions usually include inducements and free-gifts and if enough doctors are sold onto a particular Brand then, as chemists and dispensaries are only allowed to sell to the patient the specific Branded drug prescribed, it is certain that their product will take off. Currently there are over 80 different Brands of tranquilisers on the market, and over 100 different brands of analgesic. Yet, although they are all basically the same, there are soem astonishing price differentials. One survey in'Lancet' in 1980 showed that of the 13 most commonly prescribed drugs - if their generic, non-branded, equivalents had been prescribed instead, the NHS would, in fact, have made a saving, from their Annual spend, of about £25M.

The Drug Companies of course make huge profits. Many of them try and excuse this by explaining the need for heavy investment in research and development. But more money is, in fact , spent on pushing (promoting) the drugs than on total R&D (?), and more goes into advertising drugs than on training of doctors. R&D, though, when it boils down to it, is R&D for profitability, not for better medicine. The number of useless drugs sold on the market easily demonstrates this. One investigation in the United States tested 2,000 drugs (two-third of the total US market) and found that 60% lacked any evidence of therapeutic content. Many of these drugs are still being sold and many more, which have been taken off the market because of bad publicity, competitiveness or more stringent regulations, are now being pusned in 'third world' countries, where the profit potential for some countries is far higher.

Patrick Jenkin, the Secretary of State for Industry and, an ex-legal adviser to the Distiller's Company (Manufacturers of the Thalidomide Drug that deformed babies) and his cohorts are, of course, on a strict all-out collision course to destroy what is left of Britain's Health Service. The NHS has never operated as it was designed to, and has one of the lowest per capita spends (and fewer doctors per population) in Western Europe. Comparability between different health Sevices is usually based upon levels of pre-natal care and mortality rates and Britain has one of the lowest amongst the western industrialised countries.

CUTS AND CLOSURES

The winding down of the NHS has in fact, been going on since the late 1960's, although officially the first major cuts took place in 1976 - by the Labour Government - as part of a general programme of public spending cuts. In that year seven hospitals were closed down. The first attempts made to close the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital was also made in that year. Others followed and in 1978 - still under the Labour Govt. - further cuts were made in the form of staff cut-backs through non-recruitment and a policy of 'positive natural wastage'. One hospital that was closed down during that time was the Northwick Park - a specialist cancer Research & Prevention establishment. But there were also occupations: at Bethnal Green Hospital and at the Administrative offices at Aberdare, where there was an 8 week sit-in. The latter action, which was supported by local workers and miners, resulted in reversal of the closure decision. Again, under Labour, in 1979 industrial action continued with all-out strikes and selective stoppages aimed at increasing the minimum wage of the ancilliary workers. The National Minimum was £60 per week, but all they achieved was £45.

In recent years, closures have been even more frequent, and the excuses even more limp. In one Wandsworth hospital, for example, the local Health Authority was unable to find any more money from within the cash limits set by the DHSS to fund the construction of a new lift to replace a faulty one. The result! that the geriatric patients had to be permanently evacuated from the upper floors and as these floors then became under-used, the hospital was closed down altogether. Other recent closures encouraged local resistance: notably St. Benedicts, London; Etwall Hospital, Derbyshire; Princess May Hospital, Margate; and Hounslow Hospital. In each of these cases the local hospital Authorities resorted to strong-arm tactics to ensure that nothing went wrong: patients were forcibly removed to other buildings and a heavy police presence countered any attempts by pickets to thwart these actions.

ALTERNATIVES

With the probability of more closures, and redundancies, together with a far more determined drive towards privatising the NHS beyond say certain emergency treatments and rudimentary care of the old and handicapped, health workers and workers in related industries have now no other choice but to re-evaluate drastically the future of their work and the strategies they should adopt to bring about a complete change in the way the health service is organised and its resources distributed and used. Its no longer a simple question of pay, or even job security. The Health Workers Unions have proved their limitations and the way forward has been shown on many an occasion by those involved in the front-line of fire: occupations, taking over of resources, industry-wide and cross-industry solidarity, support from the local community, the setting up of localised and federated councils, independent of the NHS and Trade union bureaucracies - to seize existing resources and construct alternative arrangements to those still surviving under the dead-weight of the cancerous monolith that purports to service (sic) our needs.

Source: DAM (S. London)/CIS

PERU: THE FULL PARTICIPATION DICTATORSHIP

In Peru there is an all out march towards armoured democracy and proletarian resistance. Throughout the whole of 1981 and since, the intentions of the leaders of Peruvian society have been plain for all to see. What they want is a model of exploitation where there is consensual repression. Indeed, unlike Argentina and above all Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay where the political castes have been edged out of the political game, in Peru (one of the most important nations on the continent) the same politics have been retained with the broadest possible party-political and ideological participation under the guidance of the financial oligarchy and the reassuring gaze of the military. But the workers are saying: "No."

A strike wave involving thousands from every sector erupted and lasted throughout 1981. . . involving 2500 from Peruvian Railways, plus Lima's municipal workers, miners from Cerrode Pasco, Centromin Peru and Arequipa, and 10,000 from the mills. . . and that was just January!

17000 Centromin Peru workers demanding higher pay were accused of subversion and terrorism. The National Federation of Mining Workers complained of "mining camps being turned into police barracks." 20,000 residents on the outskirts of Lima, demanding a water-supply, were brutally repressed. That was February.

In March the Guardia Civil wounded 7 and killed 1 demonstrator peacefully protesting in the mines at Santa Luisa de Huazalan (in Huanuco); the demonstrators were accused of being terrorists. And 5000 Railwaymen struck in the south of the country to press a demand for 3 months' worth of unpaid salaries.

The bourgeoisie's reply to all of this was decree No. 46, the "Anti Terrorist Law", which states: ". . any act designed to provoke or maintain a state of unease, alarm or terror, endangering life, health or property. . . or affecting international relations or the security of the state. . . is deemed culpable as terrorist." And punishable by no less than 10 years' imprisonment. And one need only belong "to an organisation" or particpate in a strike, demonstration or otherpublic protest to be labelled a "terrorist."

What that means is that any militant, trade unionist, workers or resident of the impoverished barrios who does not keep their mouth shut, is a terrorist and, unless the Guardia Civil kills them outright, risks 10 years and more in prison.

Membership of an organisation (even without participation in terrorism of this sort) is worth two years. If you publish in the press an invitation to protest. . that gets you four years.

In Spain, where the antiterrorist legislation empowers police to detain without access to lawyers for three days anyone they please, torture is an everyday occurrence. In Peru, where the legislation wants to be even more heavy-handed, the torturers have carte blanche for 15 days.

This sort of law has the backing of the entire parliament and of the trade unions. As early as January the National Tripartite Commission (government and employers and unders) was at its work, thrashing out a Social Contract. The Press has carried statements from the Labour minister."In fact the Tripartite Commission is an eassy in social agreement as a first step towards the institutionalisation of a rounded system of multi-class dialogue." And he want on to say that the democratic system will not work unless workers are organised as political interlocutors. Which is to say. . unless unions and parties operate as a transmission belt between workers and bourgeoisie.

On March 7th it was stated that ". . on the workers' side there are no serious problems about participating in the Tripartite Commission". "Those who have called for non-participation have been in a minority". And E. Castillo, leader of the (pro-Moscow) CGTP spelled it out more clearly: "insofar as certain laws exist, then the workers, like it or not, just have to abide by them."

Even so, the ferment continued. The workers neither participate in the Tripartite nor abide by it.

At the end of March there was a strike that was broken by Bayer. 5000 employers of Sider Peru went on a strike of open-ended duration. Miners at Cuajone went on strike out of solidarity with 600 threatened by dismissal. 6000 millworkers sided with the workforce of the Molinera Peru who had been on strike for 19 days over non-implementation of employment agreements. 6 peasant leaders from Villa Rica-Carabamba (in Huancavelica) were arrested and charged with squatting on lands "belonging to a landlord". Leaders of the community at Jicamarca complained of the confiscation of their lands and the constant repression. In Puno, Lambayeque and Cuzco at the end of April, strikes were called as a warning against the charges of terrorism hanging over their leaders. 3000 employees of the Lima Cleansing Department sided with leaders accused of terrorism and with colleagues who had been dismissed. 500 workers at Rayon Celanese were attacked by police after a 23 day strike. Nine workers from "La Moderna" were charged with terrorism.

Only the leadership of the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers retreated in the face of Decree No. 46, calling off a national warning stoppage that had been scheduled.

The government then put before parliament an anti-strike law declaring almost all strikes impossible in that they pose a threat to State security and essential services, jeopardise installations and the value of raw materials or finished products, etc .etc. The law had to insist that no strike be called unless it had the support of 2/3 of the full staff and was ratified every 6 days by 2/3 of the workforce. The National Federation was banned from calling across the board stappages; only plant by plant strikes would be tolerated. And then not in excess of 30 days after which time they became illegal. . .

Democracy - according to the Left - is a guarantee of basic rights. On 20 May 900 miners in Huanzala had been on strike for 74 days insisting that contracts be honoured, that the police occupation of the mines be ended and that 300 colleagues dismissed be rehired.

Meanwhile, miners at Algamarca, Caudalosa, Grande, Dorita, San Juan de Chorunga and Santander (about 2000 in all) launched into an indefinite strike for trade union rights. And Lima's municipal employees launched a general strikeon bhealf of imprisoned colleagues.

PERU

On 8 June, President Belaunde invited the whole parliament - "left" and "far left" included - to a dinner. Everyone accepted. Then the premier burst out: "there has to be frank dialogue as it is to be expected of civic leaders that they will share the same concerns."

Desco commented: "The premier's suggestion had originated from a visit paid to the poorer barrios of Lima where he had been touched by the levels of unemployment and poverty that he encountered. He did not say as much, but let is be known that sooner or later a situation of such lingering degradation would explode. A compact with opponents groups would not improve the people's living conditions, but would help ease the tension or dilute the contents of the protests."

Despite which the Maoist "Marka" stated: "It would be a mistake to reject utterly the proposed political conpact. Anyone who does reject it is also rejecting improvements in living conditions, impeding progress towards equality and giving succour to vandalism." There you have it!

Some days later, a peasant woman who had not been invited to the presidential banquet, was murdered in Cuzco. She had been Defence Secretary of the Tupac Amaru Peasant Federation of the Region and her killers belonged to the Guardia Civil.

In June a package of laws raised the workers burden of taxes and a further 100,000 employees were dismissed from the civil service. Meanwhile, police extracted confessions of terrorism by means of torture used against arrested strikers.

On 1 July the steering committee of the (IU) United Left (embracing FOCEP, PCP, PSR, UDP, PCR and UNIR) went for talks at the Palace and described the negotiations as a "form of struggle". Else-where, the railwaymen were threatening a strike unless the Guardia Repulicana evacuated Arequipa station, and 700 workers at Textil Piura were coming up to a month on strike and the National Federation of Community Workers announced an indefinite strike unless the 443 members dismissed by the Provincial Council of Trujillo were rehired.

The CGTP found itself obliged to protest at the indiscriminate preferral of terrorist charges and announced the postponement to September of a nationwide strike arranged for July, as a gesture of goodwill.

August saw strikes by bank employees, the southern miners and the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers allowed a stoppage in solidarity with their colleagues in Southern Peru who had been out for 25 days seeking the re-employment of 108 workers sacked by the preceding military government. In September, 7000 workers at Entelperu (National Telecommunications of Peru)called a 48 hour nationwide stoppage.

In the end, the executive withdrew its projected anti-strike legilsation and accepted a counter-proposal from Parliament which was basicially identical in content and indeed went further, although it did concede that the principal trade union and party leaders would have to have certain rights since the original proposal had "run counter to the policy of national concord as proclaimed by the government" (said deputy Prado of the IU) and sought to convert the function of the union into that of disciplining the workers.

Entire sectors of production (mining, petroleum) are private preserves where strikes are not permitted. Where they are permitted the government is empowered to suspend them and no nationwide stoppages are allowed. Sympathy strikes are likewise banned as well as any affecting an entire federation or involving factory occupations.

On 1 October 14,000 farmworkers had reached the 22nd day of a strike for wages and in sympathy with 9 colleagues dismissed from Lima Metropolitana. On 13 October came the declaration of a "state of emergency" in 5 provinces southwest of Lima (including the cities of Huanta and Ayacucho); the area was invested by the military and police" as a result of an attack on a police outpost". . a repeated occurrence in 1982.

Given that the government embarks upon such a police and legislative offensive in the midst of such proletarian unrest (in city and countryside), and that the class collaborationist parties sink so low in their capitulation, what would happen were the workers to call a halt to THEIR offensive? To what lengths would a regime of armed democracy, run by monpolies, not go if it did not have before it a daunting popular determination to resist?

The situation in Spain - where the government and opposition are all but indistinguishable, like their Peruvian counterparts - is the answer. In the absence of thrust from the proletariat, there comes an overwhelming and omni-potent thrust from the bourgeoisie.

Whether the Peruvian picture will evolve towards that of her neighbours to the south - politicians swept aside because of their inabilit to contain the masses together with simple direct military repression raising today's murders to the proportions of a bloodbath - this is something which cannot be prophesied. Except that in Peru, more than any other capitalist redoubt, the choice is clear: on to socialism, or on to barbarism. Passivity spells suicide.

CAMILO PEREZ

(from *Comunidad* No. 29

UNEMPLOYMENT

"UNEMPLOYMENT" – WHO "DEPENDS" ON WHOM?

It is incredible that after 150 years of socialistic propaganda, people should acquiesce in the description of themselves as "claimants", "jobless", "unemployed" – not to mention the adjectives that are often associated: "chronic" jobless, "wilfully' unemployed and so on. No such epithets are applied to the wilfully and chronic unemployed upper class, not even when they draw their money from circulation and live "on their incomes".

The so-called "unemployed" are persecuted with poverty, their standards of living are cut, and training camps are introduced for them as if they were ex-prisoners. While the Tories announce that they are solving the crisis of capitalism with "stern measures" and "sensible control of employment" (which means, in effect, that the unemployed are the saviours of society, the peace-time casualties just as soldiers are war-time casualties), the State Socialists demand "The Right to Work" – the right to be exploited.

The fact is the workers are both exploited at work and they are exploited when they are not at work.

An immature libertarian response is to say "fuck work" and glorify people who are "not being exploited" (because they are "claimants"), as if by becoming "dependent" on the State they were becoming free. Of course, they are not really "dependent" on the State. The State is dependent on the people. Their wages are channelled through the State, as people at work have their wages channelled through the capitalists. Neither do the capitalists keep anybody, and nobody is "dependent" on them: the people keep them too.

In countries where the State has taken domination over the economy – which is no longer left at the whim of market economies – no such thing as unemployment exists. Employment in such countries is more often than not a curse: those who are not subject to slave labour are forced to work according to the dictates of a superior caste. They cannot bargain for their labour (there is no competitive employer) nor bargain for the rates of their labour (there are no trade unions, at least other than in name). If they are lucky, they can get into less arduous labour than others. (Those who get pleasant and rewarding labour, oddly enough, most resent the forced aspect of work because they are dragooned into doing as the bureaucracy thinks when their own abilities are patently superior. And these fortunate, of course, get the opportunies to demonstrate their resentment because of the tendency of these countries to show off their "intellectuals" to foreign lands.

ARTIFICIAL DEPRESSIONS

If there is unemployment in capitalist countries, it is not because it is a natural disaster like an earthquake, flood or failure of crops. These can cause poverty, too, but unemployment, inflation and economic depression, and, in the affluent "West", most forms of poverty, are due entirely to artificial means. They are part of the Statist mechanism, and must be compared with the Armed and police forces, or the whole field of eduqation and publicity and soft repression.

The "unemployed" are not a separate class. They have no separate interest. They are an integral part of the exploited. The Tory idea of controlling industry requires a margin of people not working, from which to gather those who *are*. It has a direct effect on mobility of labour, on rates of wages, on allocation of housing; in short, on the entire manipulation of the economy. So important is the role of the unemployed in a Tory economy, that on the basis of natural justice, they should be paid a higher wage. Hence the media propaganda against them.

Because they have less to lose – and so may be thought of as more prone to rebel – populist politicans seek to trade on their resentment. Following the myth that the State, or the employer, *provides jobs*, and that those working are therefore dependent upon the good offices of the State or the enterprise of the employer, there is another fiction attached. Since these patrons have only so much to go round, some must, as an inevitable law of nature, go without that which they give out and therefore the *workers* , rather than the State or employer become expendable.

EXPENDABLE HUMANS

This is floated seriously by fascists, and other racialists, who say that if ethnic minorites were eliminated or deported, there would be "more work" and "more housing". People, to the Statist, are the curse. They do not see that those who produce inevitably make more than they consume (and if they did not, they would be no use to the employer). State socialists, out of power, usually do not use this argument. Instead they try to palm off different sections of the working community – the elderly, for instance – and today, indeed, there is a "socialist" voice in the unions for farming out the not so elderly, thinking to reduce hours at 50 and retire people at 55 or 60, without anywhere for them to go but the dole queue or social security as here is never any corresponding rise of compensation.

Some unionists attack the idea of overtime on the basis that if no one worked it there would be so many extra jobs as a result. It is still an economic myth. People work longer hours to get more money because there is no other way of getting it. For the same reason they moonlight. Generally speaking they only want the money in order to spend it and create more demand. Take it away and their economic power is reduced. The person without a regular job who "moonlights" to supplement social security is treated as a criminal but *is in fact contributing more to the national prosperity* because of being exploited *twice* – as worker and jobless.

The economic system could be run just as smoothly by putting everybody on social security and also letting them work tax free at anything they choose. The whole "problem" of unemployment would then disappear. This is unlikely to be done under capitalism (only because of the fear that the incentive to work for low wages would disappear) and would be of no point in a moneyless society. But it points to the artificiality of the problem.

WHAT TO DO?

Granted this, what is the worker to do when deprived of a job? The trade union movement as has developed in this country is in no way geared to deal with the situation; on the contrary, it is geared to keeping people out of jobs. "No union card, no job – no job, no union card" is the same sort of catch as "no experience, no job."

Some unions are appalled at the idea of bringing in people from "outside" and giving them union cards because there are union vacancies. "We have to consider "Our People!" – as if the "outsiders" came from Mars. An anarcho-syndicalist body would differ from trade unions most sharply in that it would not be a body to divide workers from each other. People would not join one union – whether craft or industrial – and be landed for life with their choice. They would join the local labour house and then as circumstances presented themselves join one of its industrial branches; the "unemployed" and everyone else seeking work would be part and parcel of the house and would go off into whatever union, trade or industry they fancied. or was available. In countries where it was not possible to strike openly, the tactic of pulling workers out of one trade and putting them into another, had as much effect as any strike could.

It should be unthinkable that the "unemployed" be left outside any union organisation, or imprisoned in one that can no longer offer jobs because the employers are re-structuring the manner of their profits.

Unemployment and toil, too, can be fought under capitalism. A different form of resistance is needed to fight State communism, but there the problem usually is toil; unemployment is unknown. In a free society, the "problem" becomes a blessing. The less time at essential work, the more time to spend on that which interests us. It is part of the madness of statism that human brains can relieve the world of senseless toil, and, because of that, actually cause misery. If the statists do not blow us all to smithereens meanwhile, one day nobody will understand how this could have been the case.

A.M.

URUGUAY

The Uruguayan CNT's Tendencia Combativa (Fighting Tendency) is today split into two factions. Some comrades from one of the factions have sent us a declaration "On the Anniversary of the CNT", from which we reprint below the concluding paragraphs..."The T.C. Proposition".

THE TC PROPOSITION AND THE WORKING CLASS

The TC encourages support for the reorganisation of the workers' movement on the basis of this appreciation of the current circumstances of the working class in the wake of the coupd'etat, characterised by:

a) Dismemberment of trade union activities.
b) Imprisonment, persecution and exiling of union activists and leaders.
c) The closure and confiscation of most union premises.
d) Employer repression of any organised pursuit of workers' demands.
e) The excision from politics of proposals formulated by workers for tackling the country's social and economic crises.

It was all very well for the dictatorship to attack the instruments with which workers had equipped themselves, but it was frankly absurd for it to seek to eliminate the years of experience, organisation and struggle which the working class has accumulated. Obviously workers were going to devise new means of voicing their needs and wishes and a new route to " a society without exploiters or exploited."....

The very actions and pressures of the dictatorship itself have provoked the emergence of a new generation of activists operating in a more defined way, along the lines of direct action at factory level in that section of industry which is theirs.

Thus the bank employees and building workers, the textile workers and the workforces of Funsa, Umtra and Ancap, etc. (to name but a few) have made their views directly obvious by adopting class positions in opposition to the dictatorship out of an appreciation of the needs of the workers and their organisational requirements. The most prominent expression of this have been the bank employees' reply to the dictatorship's proposals in the trade union sphere and the popular political rejection of the plebiscite.

The fact of the matter is that the working class has a new and dynamic method of waging its struggles: it relies upon a new generation of activists, acting along class lines necessarily partisan or linked to some Party, employing methods of their own devising and acting in the context of a different political and social setting which has invested their action with distinct characteristics. It is on the basis of these considerations that the prospects should be considered and we should envisage the new organisational formulae that the working class may adopt.

The position is that one cannot react to this situation with the old, old party political responses without running the risk of thwarting the reorganisation of the labour movement. Today that reorganisation assumes the form of connecting up the activities of unions during this period and not that of formally maintaining any presence by the CNT.

Until such time as current union activities are reorganised and united, and the voice of the working class thereby made heard, the scabs of Acuna, the CATUD or the CGTU will be in a position to go on appearing to speak on behalf of the workers. These stooges of the Regime, yellow unionists and, in many instances foreign agents, are alien to trade union activity. Up to the present real trade union activity has not been a

feature of these various unions and their activities have only one possible meaning. they negotiate the working class into the new ruling system, tailoring workers to its political requirements and prospects.

It is to the expression assumed by the unions that we must look for the mechanisms of reorganisation and, on that basis, confront the plans of the employers and the dictatorship. In that respect, the CNT should bend all its efforts towards unifying the real expression of the workers and not be merely the mouthpiece of one current within the labour movement. Nowadays the unions do not speak through the CNT command nor has that command any interest in encouraging the unions or synthesising their actions. That we take to be a very grave error because it leaves a wide margin for manouvre to the yellow union sectors, and collaborationists in their pursuit of means of expression alien to the working class.

When the CNT launched its activities some 17 years ago, it did so at a point when the working class was atomised and also it did so on the basis of a recognition of the activities of the unions, their methods, dynamics and special characteristics. That is the model which any process of organisation ought to follow and it is a procedure that should never be overlooked, particularly when there is this need to engage in the process of bolstering and reorganising the labour movement.

In a document we expressed our opinion thus:

"....Only by the people taking the leading role can we prevent the struggle from culminating in a backstage settlement that would signify fresh frustration for the people as a whole and for the working class in particular".

For that reason it is important that we do not sidestep the unions as expressions of the worker's wishes and oppose any solution which does not include them, reasserting the independence of the working class in its rising struggle for socialism and liberty.

(Source: *Comunidad* NoV.

Spanish Unions

The two main unions before General Franco were the CNT (anarcho-syndicalist) and the UGT (socialist), with some 'yellow', in reality catholic, Company union centres. Franco dissolved the unions and formed an organisation based on Mussolini corporativism and partly on 'yellow' unionism. After Franco's death, the fascist unions were dissolved but the system continued: the workers in each factory unit appointed a committee, which in turn participates in a joint employer-union committee appointed by the state and negotiated under the direction of the Minister of Labour.
After Franco, the workers could choose which union delegates to choose for- they did not obviously have to be Falangists any longer-and so different unions put forward representatives in industry, the way the put them forward in parliament. The UGT is not to be compared to the pre-Civil War UGT, some elements of which were revolutionary. It is completely dominated by reformist social-democracy (of the West German type). It has grown in the new industries since the war but is now suffering a severe decline. The workers commissions (CC.OO.-Communist) are also declining in numbers corresponding with that of the Communist Party, but still maintain their position of dominance, gained during Franco's death when they were in collaboration with the Christian Democrats and able to gain positions in the fascist syndicates. The new union, the USO, is apolitical, but suffers from excessive devotion to cooperation with the State and therefore to'industrial peace'.
The Maoists tried to form a union but this has now collapsed and their activities are now more generally directed on the political field. There is a strong revulsion against the political unionism of the Marxists and against the collaborartion of the USO, so that the popularity of the UGT is growing at the expense of the other reformist unions, though it too has no major following.
But for its split, the CNT would have grown considerably. On the industrial side, as both CNT's are saying the same thing- and it is hard to tell the difference between the policy of one journal and another- the tendency is for militants to unite on major issues, and for the infiltrators, who went in to cause the dissension to drop out.

Source: A.M.

N.B. A full report from A.M. (the DAM delegate) on the Sixth Congress of the CNT, held in January, will be made in the next issue of 'Black Flag' quarterly.

nternational News, with particular eference to libertarian resistance and ctions of solidarity, is covered in this ection. All reports / news items, ranslations are welcome.

Anarchist Black Cross

The ABC is an international network and helps to document international news of interest to the anarchist movement. It also helps to channel funds to libertarian prisoners and their support groups as well as to those actively involved in resistance.

TERNATIONAL NE INTERNATIONAL NEW

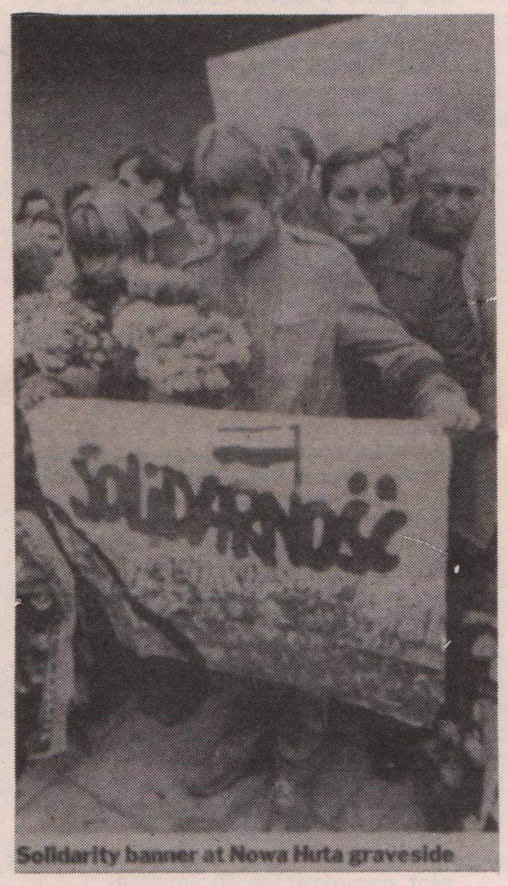
POLAND

Roger Noel, who was arrested for smuggling in radio equipment for Solidarnosc, was found guilty but released - his severe fine - approximately £5.000 - having been paid by comrades in Belgium. Protests were made on the day of his trial in Belgium and Britain. In Britain around ten anarchists entered the Polish Consulate, talked and argued with the visitors and staff, and distributed leaflets on Noel's arrest. Meanwhile large numbers of phonecalls were made to Polish airlines, the Embassy and Consulate, asking for Roger, booking him tickets, and asking awkward questions about the Polish economy.

Source : S.L.A.G.

N.B. Group 'Sigma', an underground anarchist-syndicalist group operating within Poland, publishing and distributing propaganda on libertarian and anarchist-syndicalist organisation, need our support. A fund has been set up to provide solidarity, cheques should be sent to: Jochen Knoblauch, Postcheckkonto-NR 4515 23-109, Postcheckampt, Berlin West,'Solidarnosc'

Source: BAC/FAU



Solidarity banner at Nowa Huta graveside

Spain

The trial of FIGA* members has been postponed. For Alejandro Camacho, the prosecution is asking 168 years, 4 months and 1 day. Camacho has already served 4 years. A total of 14 alleged FIGA members will stand trial.

Tried on 3 and 4 May '82, Francisco Nicolas Garrido, Jose Granados Martinez, Miguel Mulet Nicolau and Dolores Aparicio Casals, were found guilty of membership of the Armed Autonomous Group.

FIGA member Daniel Corsino Fernandez was picked up on July 13 and is being held in Carabanchel prison.

*Autonomous Groups Federation an anarchist activists organisation.

Italian courts have agreed to accede to Spain's request for the extradition of the anarchist Jesus Emilio Gil Fortes in connection with the SCALA nightclub fire deaths frame-up. The courts ignored Fortes's claims of innocence and his description of the case as a political one. In so doing they sidestep the clause of the extradition agreement between the two countries under which Spain has repeatedly refused to extradite runaway Italian fascists. The Spaniard's lawyer has registered an appeal so the extradition will be made effective just yet.

Lieutenant-Colonel Fernandez Hildago has been charged with conspiring to organise a military rebellion. He is accused with others already held of plotting to organise a coup on the day before Spain's recent general election.

USA

On December 17, 1982 two bombs went off: one at the IBM building, the other at the offices of the South African Transport Authority. Both were claimed by the same group, which has so far not identified itself.

On December 31st, as New Year celebrations were taking place, a bomb exploded outside a Police Station as it was being disarmed by a bomb disposal squad; several police were injured. Other bombs were discovered near government buildings but were defused. One escaped a seach and exploded outside a Government Treasury Office. The actions were claimed by Puerto Rican nationalists.

Action Directe

The attacks on the property of certain leading financiers including the Rothschilds (who happen to be Jewish) has led to wild accusations, confusion and speculation amongst anarchists in France and elsewhere. The attacks coincided with others in which six Parisian Jews were killed during an attack on a Jewish restaurant. Responsibility for this act of terror was later claimed by an Arab (possibly Iraqi based) group in retaliation against the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon.

Previous actions attributed by A.D. include attacks on the Paris H.Q. of the French National Employers Council, the Ministry of Labour building, an Employment Office, the Offices of the Works Inspectorate, a Paris Building Society, Phillip's Data Systems Offices in Tolouse, an attempt on the Palace of Justice in Tolouse, three Ministry of Transport buildings, and - more recently - a nuclear power establishement. The aftermath led to raids and the detention of many anarchists. In March and April 1982, after the machine-gunning of Govt. buildings, 4 Italians found with explosives, were arrested and an 'Italian Connection' was impugned.

A.D. follows the line previously taken up by the F.I.J.L. (Iberian - Spain & Portugal - Libertarian Youth Federation) and, later, G.A.R.I. (Iberian Revolutionary Anarchist Groups) and the 1st of May Group. Some believe that in recent months A.D. has undergone a transformation of policy, or at least tactics.

Rumours of splits, new collaborations, even infiltration, are rife. Whatever the truth, we say let their actions speak for themselves.

Source: B.F.

Address of Action Directe, France (the legal 'branch')
Gilbert Roth, 6 rue de la Reine-Blanche, 75013, Paris, France. (They have renounced violence!...)

Source: Civil Disobedience (Canadian Pacifist@) Nov-Dec'82 Supplement.

Castro look-alike giving an unwanted plug

CUBA

Cuban cigars, produced under State Communism, are distributed in Europe by Tabacalera S A. and stamped with their Official seal, the coat of arms of Royal Castile with the Fascist slogan "una, grande, libre !" - (usually chanted : 'Spain - one, Spain - great, Spain - free").

In the search for foreign currency, the distributors have overlooked that though Franco has gone, the evil legacy that he left lives after him. The one delicious aroma produced by Castro's State Communism is labelled by the insgnia of the Falange.

A slip-up? Not the only one, at any rate

The notorious Nazi 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion', are translated into Spanish and are being peddled in Spain by Ediciones Petronio S.A. of Barcelona, together with other anti-semitic literature of the Spanish neo-nazis, and finds its way into Havana, where everything is censored. The official reason ? '' Los Protocolos de los Sabios de Zion " is thought to be anti-Zionist" (It was written fifty years before the establishment of the State of Israel), " rather than fascist".

The following reportcomes from a paper called AGON (Struggle) which is pretty right wing, but a left wing paper copied the report almost word for word:

ANARCHIST MOVEMENT CAUSES UNEASE
Arrests Not Ruled Out!

Anarchists movements and activities, who according to police information, maintain international links, have been noted recently, mainly in Nicosia, but with smaller groups in other cities, with the aim of causing serious problems for the government of Cyprus.

Demonstrator wielding a bicycle wheel attacks policemen during riots in Amsterdam

ITALY

The Anarchist lawyer Gabriele Fuga who was arrested on the word of a "pentito" in May 1980 was held for 14 months in prison and then found not guilty on the charge of membership of the Azione Rivoluzionaria, should have been released, but during the trial a warrant was issued for his arrest on charges of membership of the Prima Linea group, again on the basis of the evidence laid by a 'penito' who was then paroled. The court appealed against the granting of bail and he was arrested on the 14th July this year in Milan while leaving home for his work. *(Pentito is a prisoner who informs against someone and in so doing, gets a lesser sentence or early release; in Britain such people are called 'grasses').*

In the wake of a massive police round-up, the anarchist Giordano Sangiovanni was picked up in July this year and charged with membership of Co.Co.Rev. (Revolutionary Communist Committees), allegedly led by Oreste Scalzone. Sangiovanni (one time member of the editorial panel of A Rivista Anarchica) has been detained in a caribinieri barracks, held 23 out of 24 hours in darkness just to "soften him up". He refutes the charges arguing that "...It is bloody odd that a lifelong anarchist communist like myself should have 'been active' in an organisation with a political outlook so far removed from my own...it is a lie".

BOLOGNA CONNECTION

Several friends of Allessandro Alibrandi, the Italian fascist luminary, are still at large in London. Extradition requests (they are wanted for their collaboration in the Bologna railway station bombing in 1980) have been turned down. They are currently living in the Brixton area and working as waiters in certain pizza parlours in south London.

Source: IRIS/Searchlight

CYPRUS

4/10/82 Police raided many anarchists throughout the island but all were later released (no exact figures). The police say that though the anarchist movement is small it is constantly growing, and are kept under watch as they pose a threat to the State. Though nothing was found in the raids police say arrests should follow soon.

Source:Black Star Cyprus.

Already according to information from AGON, police have carried out raids in Nicosia, but no incriminating evidence was found, but such is the evidence of the position of these people that the police are obliged to carry on surveillance and it is not impossible that at some stage it will be judged necessary to make arrests.

Some of these people who's activities alarmed police, were held and questioned and the results of their examinations are being considered.

Recently activities have been noticed in other towns, particularly Limassol, following contacts with various people from Nicosia.

The Government is watching the movements of these people and has evidence that their numbers are increasing constantly.

This month especially, the anarchists, who are a small movement at this stage, have acted in a way which is considered a danger to the state. This was admitted to AGON but without further details.

However several people who are mixed up in these activities have left their families and are creating social problems.

"Wherever the State exists fascism will exist. The State is the organ of the boss class against the workers. Communist and capitalist states are the same, both against the workers. Russia, USA, Cyprus Greece, Turkey, England, everywhere the worker is a wage-slave. Only without the State will people exist without classes and in freedom in a society without oppression. Anarchism wants the end of all States. Workers organisations do not need Leaders and Parties. TheLeader is the new Boss. The Party the new State. The liberation of the workers is the job of the workers. Organise without leaders. Long live workers solidarity. Fight for social revolution. Down with the Boss! Down with the State! Long live Anarchy! Our flag is Black or Black and Red. Our symbol is @."

Black Star poster from Larnaca in Cyprus.

NEWS FLASH !
The 'Angry Brigade' sent an incendiary letter-bomb to the Tory Headquarters in Leeds, on 20th January. After a warning the device was blown up by an army bomb disposal unit. MIKE WAIGHT (see front page) received an additional 4 years, to his sentence.

DIRECT ACTION — CANADA

We claim responsibility for the bombing of a Litton Systems of Canada Ltd. industrial plant in Toronto, Ontario where the guidance system for the Cruise Missile nuclear weapons is being produced.

We sincerely regret that any injuries occurred as a result of this action. We never intended any harm to come to anyone - especially the workers at Litton - but instead, we took great care in preparing what we seriously assumed were adequate precautions to insure the safety of all people in the area. Unfortunately, this did not turn out to be the case.

We do not regret, however, our decision to attempt to sabotage the production of the Cruise Missile's guidance "brain". We only claim in all honesty that this action was never meant to be an act of terrorism. We were not trying to threaten or kill the workers or executives of Litton Systems. We were attempting to destroy part of an industrial faculty that produces machinery for mass murder. We wanted to blow up as much of that technology of death as possible.

Accidents happen; no systems or people are infallible. For us, however, this fact of life in no way excuses us for the mistakes that we made which contributed to causing injury in this action. We only pose these simple questions to put this tragedy into proper perspective. How many hundreds of times have entire populations been only minutes from annihilation due to nuclear war computer systems' malfunctions? How many thousands will suffer from cancer-related diseases because of breakdowns at nuclear power plants? How many thousands are maimed and killed every year in industrial accidents? And isn't it a fact that millions of people starve to death annually because so much money and human effort is put into systems of war rather than developing the means to feed the people of the world?

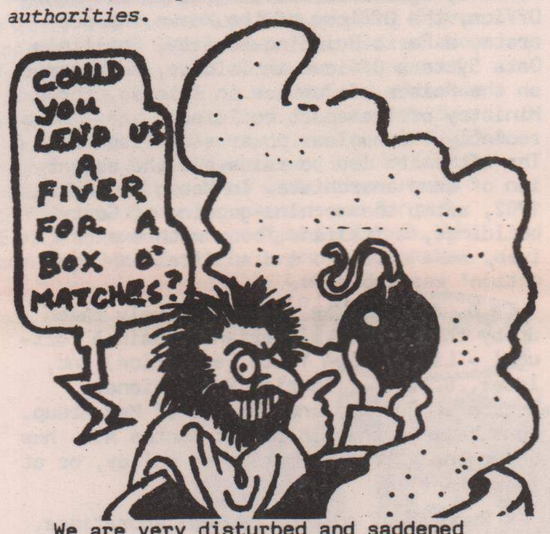
Although we still firmly believe that it is right to attack the technologies of death, we identify our mistakes in this action as the following:

1) *The bomb exploded 12 minutes before it was supposed to, assuming that it did detonate at 11.31p.m. as stated in the media. The bomb was set to go off at 11.43p.m. If it had exploded at this time, we feel that it was reasonable to have assumed that the Litton plant and the surrounding area would have been safely secured. It is a mystery to us why it exploded early, as we had checked and double-checked the accuracy of the timing system many times.*

2) *The warning call was not repeated. The van was left on the lawn in front of the Litton building at 11.17p.m. We telephoned a warning to Litton Security just one minute after the van was parked. This was to ensure a quick reaction by authorities, even though we felt certain that the van would have been seen as it was being driven across the lawn and parked. The van was parked 100 meters directly in front of an exposed glass-walled security guard's booth. In fact, the driver of the van could see 3 guards in the booth at all times during the approach and, as a result, knew that the van had not been noticed. Unfortunately, the Litton guard did not completely understand the instructions of the telephone warning. When he asked that the instructions be repeated, he was only told to go out front and look at the van. We see now that the telephoned warning should have been carefully repeated. However, if the warning had been understood, and even the police have said it was "meticulous", then the authorities would have had approximately 25 minutes to clear the plant, the area, and surrounding roads - if the bomb had detonated on time. This was certainly a reasonable length of time to have left the authorities to evacuate the plant and secure the area. Even though the bomb went off early, it seems obvious that even 13 minutes was enough time for theplant to have been safely emptied had the instructions been understood.*

3) *We made errors in judgement about the "orange box" which was left in front of the van..This box was meant to be a back-up warning system to the telephone warning - again to help authorities understand the situation and ensure prompt and knowledgable action on their part. The box was painted florescent orange so it could be easily seen and taped to all four sides of it was a sheet of paper with information and instructions. On top of the box was taped a stick of unarmed dynamite. We felt certain that the Litton guards, either by seeing the van being parked or by being alerted to it by the telephone warning, would quickly come upon the box - thus having written information in their possession to guide them. Unfortunately, we wrote "Danger Explosives" on top of the sheets of instructions. As well, it was not a good idea to leave an unarmed stick of dynamite visable on top of the box. Although these two things were done to prove the this was a real bombing, they actually frightened the Litton guards and police away from the box so that the instructions were never read. Because we left evidence of real explosives, and because the instructions contained the information that there were 550 pounds of explosives inside the van, we assumed that the authorities would have undertaken a massive emergency response and evacuation. This is what we were hoping would happen to make sure that no one was hurt. It was specifically stated in the telephone warning that the box contained important instructions and that the dynamite attached to it was harmless. In both the written instructions and the telephone warning, we stated that the van would explode in approximately 15-20 minutes. We said this to insure that everyone, including bomb squad members, would clear away from the van well before it exploded.*

4) *We were mistaken in beleiving that the Litton guards and police would be on top of things. The image of cops and guards as "super heroes" caused us to believe that they would have security and safety matters underway very quickly. This is obviously what didn't happen. The Litton guards did not observe the van being parked even though it occurred essentially right before their eyes. A Litton guard did not understand the phone warning even though it was given clearly. It seems that the Litton guards did little or nothing to evacuate the workers until after the police arrived. As the workers have said, they were only told to leave the building. seconds before the explosion. The police took a very long time to arrive after they were alerted - approximately 10 minutes - even then they only sent one car at first to investigate. Finally, neither the police, but especially Litton security, even took a close look at the orange box. We did not expect this kind of slow and indecisive response from the authorties. authorities.*



We are very disturbed and saddened that injuries occurred as a result of this action. We have gone over what went wrong time and time again. Most significantly, the bomb exploded 12 minutes too early. But nevertheless, we feel we must strongly criticize the Litton security guards for the way in which they "handled" this incident. We know that there were at least 3 guards in the security booth when the van was parked and when the phone warning occurred. We feel it is undeniable that all injury to the workers could have been avoided if the guards had promtly evacuated the Litton plant, as they obviously should have. Although we had no knowledge of the previous false bomb threats (in fact, we oppose the use of fake bomb threats precisely because they do cause the authorities to be sceptical of the authenticity of real bomb attacks), we put effort into making sure that the authorities would quickly understand that this threat was real. It is not as if we said that a pipe-bomb was hidden somewhere within the entire Litton complex, so evacuate everything. We informed Litton security of where the van and box were. They were both completely visable to the guards simply by looking straight out through their booth's window, and the fact that they were there at all obviously indicated that something was definately amiss. We would like to know why a Litton guard went running into the plant to evacuate the workers only seconds before the explosion - instead of at least 10 minutes earlier? And we would like to know why the two other Litton guards were standing around on the front lawn, instead of informing workers in the other plants? As well, it is irresponsible of Litton to have never informed the workers of past bomb threats, and to not have a loudspeaker system combined with evacuation plans so that workers could be quickly moved to safety in the event of any danger, be it a bombing or otherwise.

The position where the van was parked was chosen for two reasons. One, so that it could be easily and quickly seen from the guard's booth. It would have been much less conspicuous, and therefore far less risky for the driver of the van, if it had been parked in front of the other two Litton guildings, as neither of these are within direct view of the guard's booth. Secondly, the van was parked in a corner of the building in order that the two walls of this corner would prevent debris from being cast in a southerly or south-westerly direction where the two nearby hotels are located. This position was the only such corner at the front of the three Litton buildings. Again it was at the risk of being apprehended on the spot that we chose to park the van in a location which provided the least risk to public safety.

We have written the above not to redeem ourselves, as we did commit inexcusable errors, but simply as an explanation of our motives and intentions for those people who may feel threatened that there are crazed terrorists on the loose against the Canadian people. Again, we repeat, that we never intended any harm to come to anyone through this action. Instead, we took great care in preparing what we seriously assumed were adequate precautions to insure the safety of all people in the area. Understand and remember, the terrorists are those who have set the world on the brink of nuclear war, not those are fighting this insanity and inhuman madness!

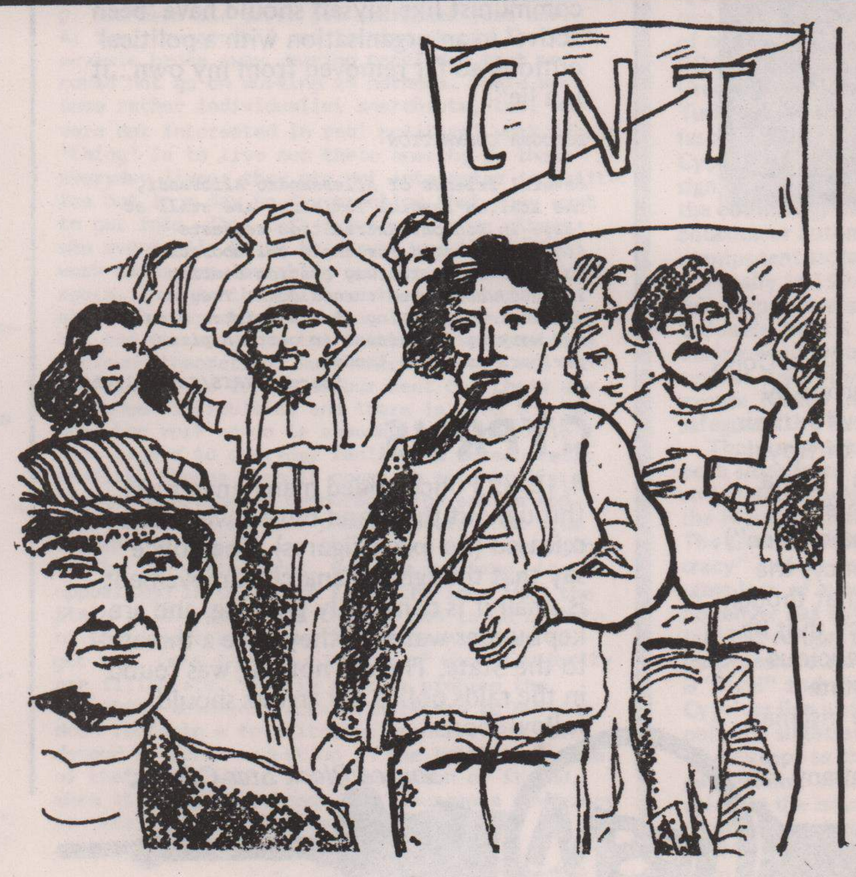
Finally, we wish to state that in no way was this bombing the work of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, or any other public peace movement organization in Toronto.

Direct Action
October 17, 1982.

RESISTANCE issue 4 Fall '82 available from 'Friends of Durruti', P.O. Box 790, Stn A, Vancouver B.C. Canada Carries the 1st communique of the Direct Action (Canada) group, also has analyses of documents from the Red Brigades, the FALN (Puerto Rican Nationalists) and lots more.

GREAT ANARCHO – BORES – NO. 71.

The CNT is counter-revolutionary!..... Anarcho-syndicalism is reactionary!..... The workers are reformists, conspiring with the capitalists.....In Spain in 1936 the CNT- anarchists joined the government, persecuted the Durruti column, if Durruti was alive today he would be a) Trotskyist b) council-communist/situationist d) autonomist.....The real revolution was in 1976 the workers assemblies, spontaneous, uncontrollable.....The really revolutionary theory must see the working class of intellectuals, students, middle-class drop-outs.....Trots without Parties as the only vanguard the vehicle of the supreme knowledge.....Now I am stoned for an interface with the proletarian shoplifters, saboteurs, absentees, rioters who by their actions are always..... Oh, shit, I must get back, the weekend is over..... Well I am a bit tight for cash actually one has so many subversive pamphlets, posters,and books to intervene and get out to the workers with.....Do you know a cheap (reactionary) co-op where me, myself I and friends can , er, produce our radical commodities. . .



GREECE

19/9/82. 4 students (3 men and a woman) were arrested in connection with bomb attacks against police stations and university buildings five months ago. The names have not been released but the police say that of the 4 two are self-confessed anarchists.

In Thessalonika two young anarchists were sentenced to 10 and 8 years prison for participating in a 'violent demonstration'.

The Greek edition of W. Pawell's book "The Anarchist Cookbook" was seized by the police. The Athens District Attorney prosecuted its translator and editor named G.Karabellis with the charges of cooperation in hard-drug selling, terrorist action and bombings, guidance to manufacturing of explosive mechanisms etc.

Some comrades who call themselves "Greek Initiative for an Anarchist Federation" sent into newspapers and magazines a leaflet reporting this book as "Fascist and provocative". They write: "By seeing all those bad results that this book caused a decade ago in its native country the USA we can understand in advance what this shameful, anti-anarchist, Fascist and clearly PROVOCATIVE book, will cause in the Greek situation, where the confusion, the ignorance and misunderstanding about what the fuck anarchism means can make sure, that some anarchoid-teens hoping to make themselves "men" and "heroes" will finally find their clumsy bombs blow up into their own hands or will shoot the (is very plentiful in our country...) heroin into their body with the hope that they are gonna be "revolutionaries" this way..."

This book in its English edition had been in 1978 the main evidence against Phillipos and Sophie Kyritses who were then sentenced to 8 and 5 years imprisonment. The Greek anarchists found it very suspicious that it was published in Greek language during the more difficult period for the antiauthoritarian movement in our country, when the confusion and distortion of the anarchist ideas is larger than ever.

Michalis P. Mescaleros - Athens

COMISO

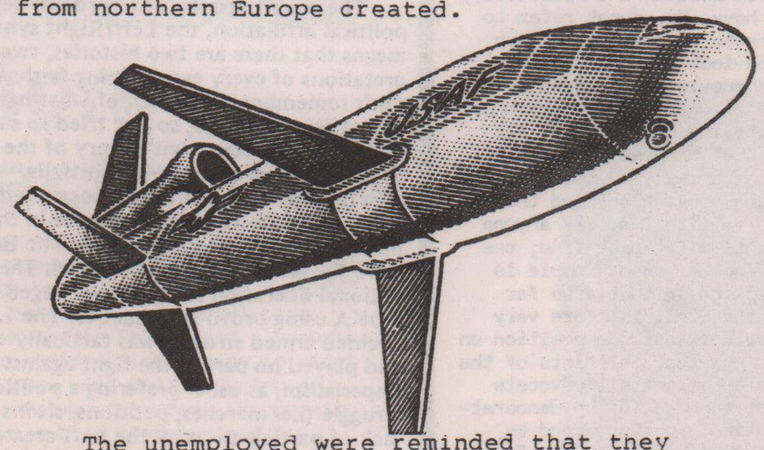
REPORT FROM SICILY

The proposed missile base at Greenham Common has become front pagenews due to the tenacity of the women who have been maintaining and developing the activities of the peace camp in front of the site over the past year. But there is another base that is first in line in American imperialism's deadly project to mine Europe with atomic missiles. The site is Comiso in Southern Sicily, and deserves attention for its dubious merit of being the first and largest proposed base of its kind in Europe. The struggle taking place in Sicily at the moment is therefore one which affects the whole of Europe.

For anarchists the struggle against nuclear weapons and that of antimilitarism in general places itself within a global context, that of the social struggle against exploitation. In this way we avoid falling into the ambiguity of the pacifists who, limiting their demands to disarmament and "peace", implicitly accept the bosses definition of social peace, the armed peace of the police State and all the exploitation and misery it defends.

As soon as the site for the base was publicly disclosed the Ragusa anarchist comrades together with those of Lotta continua per il communismo and various other extra-parliamentary communist groups began working on counter-information to expose these projects of domination, also denouncing the social and economic effects (drugs, prostitution, mafia, rise in housing costs and those of prime necessity goods) which the base would have on the lives of the local workers and unemployed. As work developed, however, differences began to accentuate, the communists, veering more towards complicated analyses of international relations, detailed research into the local class composition in order to preselect their interlocutor, and so on. The anarchists, on the other hand, felt it was necessary to start from the missile base itself as the central problem and work out a concrete strategy which could lead to the prevention of its construction. Instead of working out a detailed selection of who the strata most likely to accomplish this task would be (therefore of whom to address their counterinformation and proposals), they carried out a series (about twenty) public meetings in all the squares of all the surrounding towns and villages as well as Comiso itself with counter-information and the indication that the only way to prevent the base was to occupy it and destroy it and that to do this it was necessary first to organise in first person, autonomously of all the parties and organisations who in words were against the base but who were doing nothing really capable of leading to its prevention. The organisational form suggested was self-managed Leagues, being that used by the peasantry at the end of the last century when they successfully occupied uncultivated land and gained it from the big landowners.

The initiative was well received by the people of all the local towns and those of Comiso itself who up until then had only been invited to join peace marches, sign petitions (12,500 from Comiso alone out of 18,000 of voting age) or participate in symbolic hunger strikes as proposed by the various peace committees, the Communist Party or the pacifists from the peace camp. Cultural differences and lack of real content were elements which alienated the people from the pacifists' proposals. They found it difficult to relate to the carnivalesque atmosphere which the presence of Buddhist monks, Greens, various catholic and protestant minorities and pacifists from northern Europe created.



The unemployed were reminded that they were being blackmailed into accepting the base as the only possible chance of work in the area but that in reality, apart from the connotations of working to dig their own graves, there would be very little of even that, and that only through organising autonomously in a League of unemployed could they find the strength to fight this situation by preventing the construction of the case and in so doing becoming a force to be reckoned with which could demand 'clean' work. The services workers were urged not to collaborate with the army of occupation, and were reminded of the great power that they hold and of how easy it would be to sabotage the invaders' interests if they refused to supply them with telephones, water, electricity, etc.

An immediate response to the students' leaflet was given by the students of the college of science in Vittoria, four miles from Comiso. They came out on strike on reading the leaflet, marched (all four hundred or so of them) to the main square of the town a mile and a half away and held a meeting to discuss the base, a meeting which also attracted the interest of many shoppers and unemployed in the town. A students' league was formed and their first initiative along withthe comrades of the Coordinamento was to leaflet all the six secondary schools in the town, calling them to come out on strike immediately and to congregate in one of the squares. This was successful and a huge spontaneous meeting was held in piazza Gramsci in Vittoria. A students' League now also exists in Comiso in response to the Vittoria students' appeal to them to form one and they too came out on strike, this time in response to police aggression towards a pacifist hunger striker who was being dragged away from the main square of Comiso under orders of the socialist mayor Catalano.

Another mass leafletting was carried out by the comrades from the Coordinamento at the ANIC petrol refinery in Gela, south west Sicily. This refinery at present employs 3,000 workers but is threatened with closure, with another 500 sackings due since the recent 700 layoffs. The company now practically belongs to the Americans and no doubt once the area is heavily militarized they will have no hesitation in closing this now obsolete plant. The undoubted benefit this would have ecologically and on the workers' health would not be sufficient to feed them and their families and even the old solution of emigration is no longer open to them due to the crisis of capitalism in northern Europe. The ANIC workers therefore have every interest in acting in first person against the missile base, and they realised this as they remained talking to comrades instead of going in when the bell rang at 7.30. They urged comrades to return at the lunch time break and when they did and were arrested by police who had been called by the management, they had an immediate meeting with the trade union and factory committee and sent representatives round to get them out. This is just another example of the interest in the problem of the base and the solution being proposed by the anarchists and the other components of the Leagues: students, workers and unemployed.

There is still a great deal of work to be done. Immense energy has been put into the past few months by ten to fifteen comrades, sometimes fewer. They have also born most of the financial weight of the whole project. The need for money to develop this effort to its full conclusion is great and could be the decisive factor regarding the success or failure of the attempt to continue this work of stimulation and organisation. It would be tragic to see a moment, so much desired by anarchists, of reaching and working within a situation of social conflict with anarchist methods, fail due to lack of resources. It is precisely at this time that financial support, as much as possible but no amount is too small, is required. Once the occupation is underway and all eyes of the world are on Comiso, there will be plenty of support, but if that moment is to materialise we must have militant solidarity from all comrades now.

Source: Jean Weir, Comiso.

Coordinamento delle Leghe autogeste contro la costruzione della base missilistica di Comiso:
Coordiamento
via Contedi Torino 1
Comiso
Sicilly
Tel. 0932 966289

REVIEW

LITERATURE OF TERROR

Sanguinetti's book *On Terrorism and the State* takes as its subject the role of the Red Brigades and the reaction of the Italian State. The essays are pretentious, self-indulgent and speculative. An indication of the general style is given in the book's sub-title: *''The theory and practice of terrorism divulged for the first time.'*

Sanguinetti himself is a situationist commentator and a devotee of Guy Debord. His inability to distinguish between aspects of State repression, generalised resistance and power manouvering has contributed to this unreadable essay on paranoia. However, Sanguinetti quite rightly recognises the role played by the State in its contribution towards the general escalation of terror. This, in turn, is linked to the contributions from fascists. Indeed Sanguinetti goes one step further and suggests that the State's terror is, in fact, parallel to and part of that employed by the left, specifically the Red Brigades. He correctly points out that it is easier for State agents to infiltrate an authoritarian/hierarchically organised armed struggle group than one that is organised on say, libertarian lines. Although there is no hard evidence to either support or negate the truth of this, particularly in respect of the latter. Once infiltration has been effected the politics of terror can then be manipulated, of course, to the advantage of the State and its agents.

On Terrorism and the State furthermore accuses the Italian State, specifically the Christian Democrat Leader Andreotti and the Communist Party, of complicity in the death of Moro. He suggests that Moro was a threat to the Right and therefore his murder would in the long run, benefit the State and, at the same time, provide an excuse to crack down hard at leftists and their sympathisers. He then accuses the R.B. of being counter-revolutionary and of contributing to the general alienation of the Italian proletariat against the Left. He maintains that their actions are spectacular, individualist, vanguardist and authoritarian and are, as a result, indistinguishable from the terrorism of the the State.

But his condemnation is then extended to all the resistance fighters when he says: "....terrorism has never had historically any revolutionary efficacity except where any other forms of manifestation of subversive activity had been rendered impossible by a complete repression and therefore where a notable part of proletarian population had been brought to be silently on the side of the terrorists." Here he fails to distinguish between the terrorism of the State and vanguardists and of resistance generally. He also makes the mistake of differentiating between the struggles of everyday existence and those struggles undertaken on a level of armed action. Neither are *more* revolutionary, but Sanguinetti obviously thinks otherwise and projects his elitist guilt on to those that put into action what he, presumably, cannot.

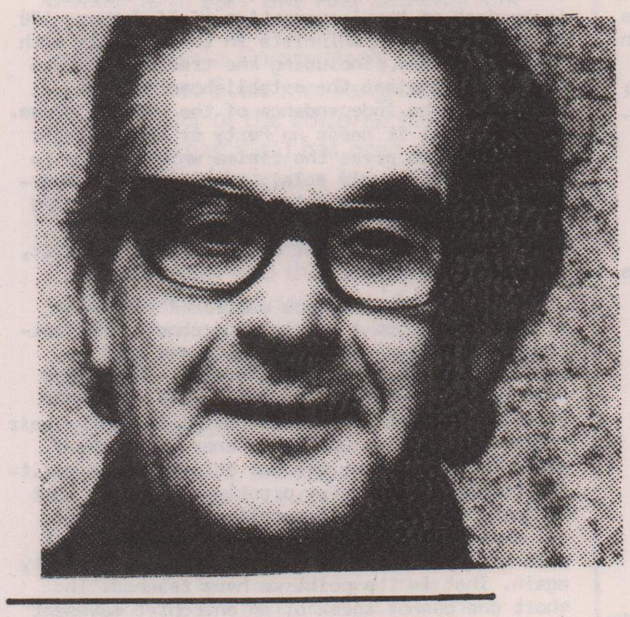
Nevertheless Sanguinetti is not totally uncompromising and states that "if we must use armed struggle...let it be in clear response to despicable actions on the part of our oppressors and not for publicity and notorierty or someone's peculiar desire for violence."

For his sins, Sanguinetti has been persecuted by both the Right and the Left by the State and by the organisations he criticises. He has achieved his own nightmare. Where Sanguinetti applies any of his theories, where he speculates, he is unable to provide anything more than mere supposition. His criticisms of both the State and of the R.B. and vanguardists generally are valid, but he then goes on to sell his ideas down the river when he condemns the offensive actions of the Left groups, and does so using the State's terminology and psychology. Thus he has travelled full circle: his abhorrence of all that is counter-revolutionary only matches his own counter-revolutionism. Unfortunately, he is not alone in this and over the years the 'theatre' of armed struggle in Italy has been extended into the dimension of duplicity and counter-duplicity. Unlike Sanguinetti, this should not surprise us. Instead, with the escalation of armed struggle, involving different strands of resistance/reaction, it is something that we should expect *and* be prepared for.

Source: B.F.

DON'T THROW OUT THE BABY WITH THE BATH WATER FOLKS SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL ANARCHIST.

MIGUEL GARCIA'S STORY, Miguel Garcia Garcia, (ed. Albert Meltzer) £1. 50 (inc. p&p) 76pp.



What gives Miguel his unique place in libertarian history is not so much the fact of his years of struggling for the Anarchist principle in Spain, but the fact that after coming out of 20 years solid jail he again came to the front from another new direction, this time on the international field.

He was an inspiration for all the revolutionary Anarchist groups, the Angry Brigade, the First of May Solidarity groupings, the MIL... as well as others in Spain, Germany and England. He appreciated that the situation in Spain, after years of Francoist repression in which all publicity was given to the Communist Party and the libertarian movement was both suppressed and ignored, meant world attention had to be brought to the Spanish situation and in particular to practical co-operation that would lead to an international different from the various paper internationals.

What the international revolutionary movement owes him no one will ever fully know. His contacts in Spain made it possible for us to help a large number of libertarian prisoners; but his contacts were not only in Spain. All over Europe there are people he helped one way or another (a real internationalist, he was just as much concerned in helping people to squat in London as re-building the union movement in Catalonia). At the time of his death he was trying to see if he could visit the States on a lecture tour "and after that, I'll come to Africa with you."

Miguel died of TB after a hard life but one well worth while. He has been a great inspiration to us all.

Albert Meltzer

TUNISIA

INTERVIEW WITH A TUNISIAN LIBERTARIAN

.....ABDEL.

Q. How did you come to embrace anarchist ideas?
Abdel: My activities go back to the 1970s. Most leftish militants in my country have had some background with the Tunisian Communist Party, but having fallen out with the party (which was set up in the 1920s) over its historical policies (basically with regard to the colonial question, for in those days the CP had been pro-colonialist and supported French control over Tunisia and over the Maghreb generally), they have denounced its line and many have tried to launch a leftist movement with different policies from the CP. And then, in the 1970s I had a philosophy teacher in my area and he helped us to get to know the thinking of the far left, Mao Tse Tung thought and all that.

Q. Was he a Tunisian himself?
A: No he was French, a worker who belonged to a Maoist organisation back in France; he used to propagate his Maoist beliefs wherever he went. And then, gradually, at national level in 1966-1967 the Socialist Study and Action Groups were formed; they professed to be of the far left and embraced Maoists, Trotskyists, anyone who looked leftwards but repudiated the CP line. From 1972-1973 on, these groups grew in importance, later the organisation'Tunisian Workers' was set up. It had originated in France but has had considerable impact in Tunisia where it is regarded as the number one organisation of the far left. About that time, I and many others criticised this organisation because of its "militaristic" nature, we are still critical of that aspect of it and of the type of relationship obtaining between its militants...the role of the rank and file appears to be to implement the line laid down by a central committee comprised of a few individuals.

Q. In that organisation, the cadres are normally students, are they? or are they mostly workers?
A: As a rule they were students for the reasons that they are the ones w ith access to revolutionary and socialist thought generally. There were several attempts to involve workers but in the end they failed because in Tunisia the consciousness of the workers is pretty well a trade-union consciousness, which does not exactly encourage the blossoming of a political consciousness. There were also some white collar workers but those could be numbered on the fingers of one hand. I was several times taken to task by Trotskyists for having dared criticise the decisions of the central committee: then there were several attempts at organisation, which came to nothing. Some people have stayed behind in that Stalinist-type organisation which is especially influential in student circles. But it had little impact beyond them because nowadays it is split between several tendencies. Eventually, at the end of '74 I left the organisation because it did not accord with what I wanted, nor with the revolutionary activity I wanted to get into For a number of years it was a case of waiting for something to turn up, as neither Trotskyism nor anarchism were any too well developed (there was a shortage of literature given that organisation's Stalinism which used to stomp on anything other than Stalinist writings) and so everybody tried to go his own way until, gradually we began to reflect a little more. Through some people who had moved to France or elsewhere in Europe we were able to get hold of some literature...we read Pannekoek and Castoriadis, etc. Later on, an anarcho-syndicalist passed on some Bakunin and Kropotkin stuff to us...from then on, one was dealing not so much with a strictly anarchist organisation as with a self-management centre one which repudiates Stalinism and advocates what one might describe as Workers' Councils. So, in the 1980s a few groups advocating Workers Councils have begun to be active; they are basically to be found in the student world for it is above all in these circles that the ideas are bandied about. Now it has begun to infiltrate worker's circles, especially into the unions, for there are lots of anarcho-syndicalists who have returned from abroad, this trend has begun to be more pronounced, especially since the uprising of 6 January 1978.

Q. You mean Tunisian anarcho-syndicalists?
A: Sure. Tunisians who have been immigrant workers in France in particular.....

Q. When you talk about these anarcho-councilist groups, you're talking about how many people - roughly?
A: In terms of numbers, not so many. But there are many Tunisians who are councilists, active in organisations in France and who have been associated with say the Situationist International, or the Socialisme ou Barbarie group. There are others too who just beaver away in one way or another, especially at the translation of councilist texts into Arabic...Others, old-time anarchists or councilists, have simply packed it all in. The new generation of councilists is a generation of students who, like me, have served their time with the Stalinist organisations and now, at last, are coming to think of themselves not so much as anarchists but as people who refuse to swim in the swamps of the Stalinist communism. In 1980 an experiment was tried involving about ten people (mostly students); they set up a tiny organisation called "For Workers' Councils" and embracing both Trotskyists and anarchists. It did not work out because the disagreements within the group between the Trotskyist and anarchist components were quite substantial. But it cannot be said that the leftist anti-Stalinist movement in Tunisia is truly dominant: some headway is being made and I believe it possible that an anarchist movement may well emerge, although there are considerable difficulties: and these arise basically out of the nature of the society we are dealing with. This is a totalitarian society where democracy, even in the bourgeois sense of the word, is not allowed. One cannot find anarchist groups, nor Trotskyist ones nor far left ones...but what does it matter who it is that sells their literature? When it can never be found. The work done is essentially clandestine and the people who dare to speak out in the anarchist camp are the anarcho-syndicalists and this because, in principle anyway, unions are tolerated.

Q. Has your group shown itself and if so, when and how? Have there been meetings, newspapers?
A: Primarily our activity is theoretical. We started practically from scratch and without any precedent such as you have. We cannot refer to any abundant literature to bone up on various positions so we have to look for our roots; this is quite basic. Whenever anyone goes away abroad, we get them to bring us back books. Our work is theoretical...trying to formulate attitudes with regard to what happens in the country and also trying to reply to the Stalinist line which rules the roost here, and then there is the problem of militarism...If anyone is going to adopt an anti-militarist line, one needs good arguments. Another good example is ecology and how to campaign in that area for this is an area where the Stalinists are very negligent. We must also work out our position on on the revolution, for now the Stalinists of the far left, the left and the right all advocate a social revolution but a phase in the democratic, nationalist revolution, so they stand by Mao's line about what he used to term the "new democracy". One has to have an influential native bourgeoisie in order to achieve the primitive capital accumulation which has never taken place in this country, and to permit a measure of democracy along the lines of a bourgeois democracy but under the management of the Communist Party.

Q. But are those not traditional Marxist policies policies?
A: Sure, it's the Maoist line. In Volume 2 of his collected writings (as published by Maspero of Paris) Mao wrote about "new democracy", and said that the revolution in what he calls the "peripheral countries" (compare this with economists like Samir Amin) is a national and a democratic revolution but not a socialist one. Now this has to be contested because it too is a means of deceiving the working class by saying that it is better for it to be exploited by the national bourgeoisie than by the imperialist bourgeoisie. As far as the working class is concerned, at least as we see it, it boils down to the same thing whether the exploitation is by one or the other. Thus we have to try and formulate a tenable argument to counterpose the Stalinist line. To begin with then, our first concern has been theoretical work and I do not think that this phase is over just yet because we have need of back up and information sources and, our group not being any too numerous, we have not been able to complete that task. For myself, I have taken the line that it is only now that I have been able to attain, at last, asuitably developed and rigorous anarchist and theoretical consciousness: there are many texts of which I am ignorant, even the 'classics', like works by Bakunin or Kropotkin.....

That then was phase one, at the same time we were conducting propaganda work such as daubing things on walls. There was a graffiti campaign in support of the insurrection of 26 January '78 to back the trade unionists in their battle with the bureaucracy (including the trade-union bureaucracy), against the establishment and in defence of the independence of the working class. The fact that it needs no Party or bureaucratic trade union to press the claims which it has to press, but must rely solely upon its own resources. This propaganda activity was what put paid to our activities in 1980 because some of us were arrested on account of it and, as a result, the group faded away.

Q. You mean the group you mentioned just now?
A: Yes, the group I was talking about. The Trotskyists broke away, having concluded that we could not go on working in harness. There were some rather individualist anarchists, too, who were not interested in real political work. Their 'thing' is to live out their anarchy in their everyday lives: they are not interested in politics but in a day to day practice that they want to get into. That left myself and some others who eventually tried to resume our theoretical work before re-launching our propaganda activity again. That is the point we have reached. In short one cannot speak of an anarchist movement but one may exist in the future, given suitable profound theoretical work which has not yet been undertaken. We try to do our best but there are enormous difficulties and there is also the fact that the work we do is somewhat anachronistic with regard to everyday reality, a bureaucratic reality. Change when it comes is essentially a change to bourgeois democracy. The entire opposition is agreed that change should come from within the regime, ie. that there is no querying of the State apparatus. Roughly speaking, the opposition is trying to float the idea that the State is necessary but that it has to be a State of the democratic type. And it is not hard to get that idea over to a people of whom a majority are illiterate. This is another problem the anarchist movement faces with regard to putting down roots in a totalitarian country. The first demand is for a reduction in the totalitarianism of that State and not for abolition of it and, when it is all said and done, bourgeois democracy is seen as a solution, within its limits.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

CYPRUS

INTRODUCTION

I had to go to Cyprus to see for myself what life is like on the island my parents came from. Born and brought up in working class London I had to try for myself life on the island that thousands of Cypriots in England still regard as home. Four months and I had to leave, firstly because the State demanded my service in the army and secondly because I could not cope with it. The alienation I felt over here was nothing with what I felt over there. The following articles are my very subjective attempts to come to terms with the place. The only hope for the people on the island is from inter-communal cooperation, for social revolution pure and simple, nothing else can stop the war which rapidly approaches.

The recent history of Cyprus all depends on political affiliation, the Left/Right syndrome means that there are two histories, two interpretations of every event. Being fairly young I can't remember very much of what happened even a few years ago, so I've tried to sort out the facts from the rewritten history of the Left/Right, a course with obvious pitfalls.

In its time Cyprus has been occupied by every major power with influence in the Middle East and Mediterranean. The British were the last to control the island. The national liberation struggle was waged by EOKA using provo style tactics. The Left decided armed struggle was tactically wrong and played no part in the fight against British imperialism, as usual prefering a political struggle (i.e. marches, petitions, sit ins etc.) This lack of participation by the Left created a vacuum in the leadership of EOKA which led to EOKA falling under the control of fascists. Archbishop Makarios became the political leader of EOKA. The fighters of EOKA demanded not only independence from Britain but political union with Greece (Enosis = union).

Because of the guerrilla war Britain signed a treaty with Greece and Turkey giving Cyprus independence. This independence did not allow for Enosis, and it also meant the retention of massive NATO bases on the island. Archbishop Makarios accepted the treaty and constitution which was in direct contradiction to what EOKA had struggled for. This caused a split in EOKA, some accepted the terms while others vowed to fight on. A new organisation was formed, EOKA B, to continue to fight for Enosis, this armed group was totally under fascist control.

During the period 1960-1974 the Cypriot economy was undergoing a period of expansion, especially in tourism. This meant a rise in living standards and expectations. However the Turkish minority (17% of the population), did not get a corresponding improvement in standards, the Turkish districts in all cities were almost slums, the Turkish villages were without electricity and running water. Also Turkish nationalists (in some cases armed) were on the rise and attacking Turks who disagreed with them. Thanks to the (essentially British created) constitution and the fascist gunmen in both sides Greek and Turk were kept apart. Before 1950 the two communities were as one. But nationalism and the economic effects of capitalism forced them into conflict. The Greek EOKA B fascists demanded Enosis with fascist Greece and fascist Greece supported this. The Turk TMT fascists demanded union with fascist Turkey and fascist Turkey supported this. Cyprus was stultifying, any opposition and any sign of opposition to Makarios (supported by all the commies), was a sign of fascism. Any independence or autonomy was destroyed by this omnipotent sectarianism.

Finally in 1974 EOKA B organised a coup, fully supported and aided by Greece of the Colonels. EOKA B was in control for nine days during which it began its policy of violence against any opposition. Given a good enough excuse Turkey invaded the island in order to safeguard the Turkish Cypriot population.

The war, marked by extreme violence on both sides (mass slaughters of civilians etc.) ended with Turkey in occupation of 40% of the island, included Famagusta, the second city. The Greek part has now returned to "democracy" and an even greater social fascism, the same lack of autonomous organisation. Turkey no longer has any reason to remain in occupation, but refuses to budge. To all intents and purposes two states exist on the island, one is "legal" and the other is "illegal". The Turkish Cypriots live under military occupation and only the slightest criticisms are allowed. Turks who, except to the Greek, half complain of a new racism. Mainland Turks brought over to colonise the island now treat the Turkish Cypriot population as second class citizens.

The end result of nationalism is the forced partition of Cyprus and the forced partition of the workers into opposing camps. Any chances of intercommunal class politics have now becomes nil. The activities of the two states is so similar so one would expect, and both see war as coming sooner or later.

The main opposition party, the Democratic Party is full of bureaucrats and fascists/communists. Maintained in power only by communist support a mutual pact called the Minimum Programme, they have ensured the complete cooperation of the state functionaries. This centrist party (like the Christian Democrats in Italy), represents the bureaucratic, middle-class, apparatchiks, the people who *run* the system. Worse than the SDP.

The main opposition party, the Democratic Rally Party, is the haven for fascist gangsters. It is said that 10% of Rally members are also members of EOKA. The party that is supported by cops, priests and bank managers as well as other species of psychopath. Rumours say that if they don't win the next election they'll let the gun men loose.

Smaller inconsequential political parties exist but these four represent politics in Cyprus. They all have one thing in common, they stin k. Hierarchical, authoritarian, sexist and boring.

WAR

That war is inevitable is agreed by everyone I met. War fever is whipped up by the media, old scores to be settled, an arms race to be won. Conscription is a fact of life for everyone on the island. There is no large scale opposition to militarism for that would be unpatriotic. In fact one women's group demanded that women be given the the chance to do national service! The official Greek line is that Turkey is arming itself for war. But I believe the Greek-Cypriots are just as likely to start the next bloodbath. Realistically it would be suicidal for the Greek Cypriots to try and take on Turkey, but the Greek Cypriots believe Greece will start a second front and will defeat Turkey.

Most people I spoke to give the place another three years. I reckon another two years and the place will go up in flames. War hysteria is high. Turkish war planes fly over Greek Nicosia to frighten people. The Greeks claim they catch Turkish spies. On the Green line a Greek- Cypriot soldier is shot from the Turkish side. Where opposing army camps are opposite each other it is not uncommon for the Greek and the Turkish *Cypriots* to make friends, after all they have much in common. The Greek-Cypriot was shot by a mainland Turk, shot as an example to stop the spread of fraternisation. Fraternisation, the thing that all Generals fear, afraid that soldiers united by class might turn their guns on Officers.

When I heard about the shooting I was scared certain war would be just around the corner. But the people I was with (at work), were mainly fascists and they were elated. They wanted war, a chance to wipe out Turks and then turn their guns on the Reds and race-traitors. This view was not that uncommon.

At the moment so-called 'Inter-Communal Talks' are going ahead, but after eight years of opposing sets of politicians mouthing off its more than just a bit pathetic. There is no point in arguing the pros and cons of the various sets of plans put forward by the politicians. Mutual aid between workers of both communities with the aim of social revolution is the *only* answer.

POLITICS

The Communist Party (AKEL) was the first political party formed on the island in 1926. It has a history of class compromise and opportunism second to none. The party is still a faithful mouthpiece for Russian propaganda. It remains one of the most orthodox CPs in existence. It has suffered no major splits, no internal battles, no euro-communistic heresies, it is still the same bureaucratic, conservative. monolithic machine it has always been. It is precisely because of this stability that it is the largest political party. The pages of its newspaper, are adorned with adverts by Coca Cola, Rothmans Tobacco, banks and multi-nationals. Its woman's page is full of recipes and sound advice on housewifery and motherhood. The kiddies page is all about Soviet Russia and lots of stories about saints and Jesus. These communists are sexists, racists, christians, anti-striker, anti-Solidarnosc. More fascist than the fascists. Personally I hate them more than anything else on the island. They have guns but didn't use them them in the fascist coup of '74. They, along with Makarios (whom they supported), shared direct responsibility for that coup. And it was the grass roots members that suffered the repression. Next election they will win, they are already the majority party. When Polish workers were shot down the CP applauded the tasks. Utter scum.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE

reportback

Sinn Fein Candidate Gerry Adams greeting a supporter before his victory

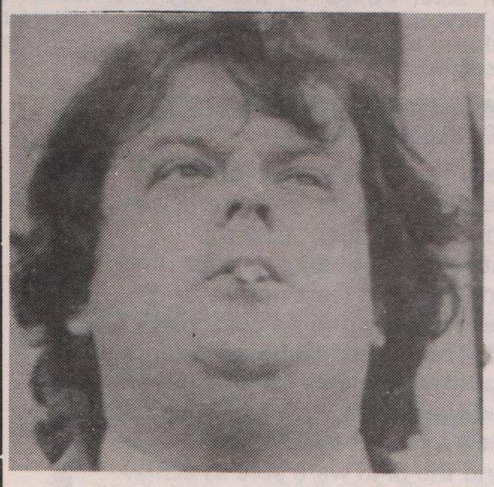
OURSELVES ALONE

What have Makarios, Arafat, Begin, Kenyatta, Mugabe, Khomeini and Gerry Adams got in common? At some point in time they have all been labelled as 'terrorist' and ahve been involved in, or supported armed resistance against 'imperialism' of one sort or another. All were and are nationalists and all, apart from one, were eventually recognized by the powers they were opposing as being legitimate representatives - no longer 'terrorists' - of 'the people'. Three years ago Mugabe was painted as a vile creature, a murderer and the instigator of countless acts of terrorism. Now he is a Head of State and all that is forgiven or at least forgotten. Nearly all these 'terrorists' went through such a transformation: from hero of the 'National Liberation Struggle' committed to 'Revolution and Social Change', to Head of State, or democratically elected negotiator; from 'socialist' to tyrant. Very few National Liberation Struggles have ever been socialist or revolutionary. In some cases, with the legitimizing of the rebel forces, the terrorism of the 'Revolutionary', has easily transformed itself into the terrorism of the State, with the 'Revolutionary Leader' becoming a paragon of the forces of reaction. Where nationalism and authoritarianism go hand-in-hand this process is inevitable. With the Sinn Feiners this too will inevitably happen. They Have negotiated and collaborated with the British State on more than one occasion. They are able to do this because each recognises in the other traits common to both: authoritarianism, the use of indiscriminate violence, and a wanton disregard and contempt for people generally. The terrorism of the Nationalist merely reflects the terrorism of the State, to which it aspires to. Given time the 'Revolutionaries' in the North of Ireland will work towards an 'acceptable solution' and the consolidation of their own power. Other Nationalist 'Revolutionaries' will take their place as the new 'Vanguard of the Struggle' and so it will continue.

Nationalism and authoritarianism implicitly encompass Statism and the only armed resistance that the State is unable to recognise is libertarian, which seeks to destroy power not to win it. Sinn Fein used to mean 'Ourselves Alone' This has never been the case.

NB In the ongoing talks with the Sinn Fein people, Ken Livingstone may even succeed in securing a localised agreement for an IRA-Free Zone for London. For all our sakes I hope he does. The Publicit ity Relations spin-off will no doubt enhance his prospects and help increase even further the powers of the nationalists. Perhaps if such tactics are taken to their logical conclusion Livingstone and Adams will one day, like Begin and Sadat receive international recognition for their efforts in achieving 'Peace'.

WEBSTER'S FUND



The following names and incomplete addresses are taken from a recent issue of 'national Front News' and is a list of those who sent in donations to the Martin Webster Defence Fund. Local researchers who can fill in the gaps and confirm the accuracy of this data as well as supply any additional information (background, affiliations, movements, etc should write to the ASDNN address (see page 11).

Source: ASDNN

Hammersmith & Fulham NF, £23; Mrs. C. Hancock, Brighton, Sussex, £25; Havering NF, £83; J. Heatherington, Preston, Lancs, £100; K. Hill, London, sum unrecorded; H. Holdaway, Mitcham, Surrey, £10; T. Holmes, Yarmouth, Norfolk, £25; D. Horton, Sutton, Surrey, £100; D. Hughes, Hereford, £10; E. Jasper, Colchester, Essex, £15; 'Wave', Manchester, £20; 'Unemployed NF Loyalist', Wolverhampton, £2; K. Kelly, Rochdale, Lancs, £30; Kent NF Regional Social, £17.57; G. Knight, Portsmouth, Hants, £10; P. Langston, London SW15, £40; 'Alan Dale', London SE17, £10; 'Layabout', London E2, £25; Mrs. V. Lillington, London SW9, £5; I. Lister, Fifeshire, £5; H. van Maasdyk, Holland, £5; Manchester NF, £85; N. Mead, Manchester, £25; Merton NF, £15; L. Miles, Enfield, Middx, £5; 'Beifrost', London SE14, £35; 'Rhiminel', London SE14, £35; T. Mundy, Slough, Berks, £10; P. Mason, London NW1, £10; Mrs. M. Mason, London NW1, £50; A. Murch, Horley, Sussex, £5; Miss C. & Mrs. J. Neil, Nottingham, £25; Mr. & Mrs. F. Nelson, Bristol, £10; I. Newport, London E12, £20; T. Norman, London E8, £6; T. Osborn, London SE24, £5; 'Miss Bogenshutz', London E2, £5; The Ashton Family, London E9, £20; A. Andrews, Bristol, £5; 'AUEW Member', Birmingham, £2.74½; E. + P. + Mrs. M. Ballard, Sutton, Surrey, £50; R. Beaumont, Brighton, Sussex, £5; R. Bellot, Southport, Merseyside, £10; Mrs. D. Brady, London NW1, £10; R. Bramwell, Oxford, £30; L. Bristo, London SE18, £10; G. Brown, Croydon, Surrey, £20; E. Budden, Hove, Sussex, £20; D. Burgess, Hastings, Sussex, £10; L. Phillips, Gravesend, Kent, £20; R. Murphy, Dagenham, Essex, £5; Blackpool & Fylde NF, £100; A. Campbell, Belfast, £10; C. Carter, London SW12, £10; Central London NF, £50; A. Coles, Manchester, £10; P. + J. + M. Comben + A. McKay, Sevenoaks, Kent, £12; R. Crookes, Sheffield, S. Yorks, £12; Miss B. Cook, Gloucester, £3; Mr. Crawford, Dorset, £25; G. Dawson, Clwyd, £20; Mr. & Mrs. J. Donegan, London NW1, £50; '3 Pensioners', Tyne & Wear, £5; Mrs. S. Draper, London N1, £10; 'Dave', London E17, £2; D. Elliott, London SE11, £50: 'Georgie Boys', Edinburgh, £15; P. Eyre, Leicester, £10; Mrs. A. Fairey, Steeton, W. Yorks, £20; R. Ferrett, Dagenham, Essex, £5; C. Finlayson, Edinburgh, £20; B. Fitt, Norwich, £10; M. Forsyth-Grant, Argyll, £25; G. Parker, Bromley, Kent, £11; E. Pendrous, London W3, £10; A. Perry, Tolworth, Surrey, £50; Queensland Immigration Control Association, Australia, £10; W. Richards, London NW8, £10; J. Roberts, London E7, £10; C. J. Robinson (location unknown), £10; Rogerson, Southend, Essex, £3; 'Solly Rothberg of Golders Green', £20; D. Sayer, Manchester, £30; 'Anti-ANAL League', £25; M. Sellors + I. Thwaite, Oldham, Lancs, £10; E. Shaw, Wolverhampton, £35; D. Sheppard, Hanworth, Middx, £5; T. Small, London N17, £30; P. Stafford, Cumbria, £10; Mrs. S. McGovern, Southend, Essex, £3; R. Townsend, USA, $25; A. Uys, South Africa, £25.03; M. Vaux, Woking, Surrey, £25; G. Viner, London N11, £10; Waltham Forest NF, £55; C. Waugh, London W12, £50; Mrs. B. Webb, Lewes, Sussex, £5; 'Compatriot of Rhodesia', £30; Miss J. White, Canterbury, Kent, £50; P. Williams, Norwich, £5; F. Williams, Morden, Surrey, £1.50; M. Wingfield, Worthing, Sussex, £5; 'Vekukampano', Wakefield, W. Yorks, £10; J. Wood, Wolverhampton, £4.50; Mrs. R. Woodbridge, Stevenage, Herts, £10; G. Willden, Gravesend, Kent, £5; D. Williams, High Wycombe, Bucks, £10; V. White, South Africa, £10; B. Walton, Leicester, £5; 'Well Wisher', South Africa, £5; W. G. Young, London SE21, 1st unrecorded, 2nd £25; 'Colonel' Freestone, London SW2, £5; Dr. H. Veen, South Africa, R.20; East London NF Regional Social, £22.65.

In Issue 8 of 'nationalism Today' - the paper of the 'new National Front', now the 'National Front' (again) - the following quote can be found: 'We are not part of any right-wing movement, anymore than we are part of some left-wing cause. Wheras the so-called right and left are nothing more than two sides of the same coin (we are) revolutionaries.' The same issue includes articles that vehemently put down (State) capitalism, support unilateral disarmament, attack multi-national corporationism and argue the case for workers control. No the NF haven't suddenly gone bananas, nor are they necessarily being dishonest. In the same issue you can also find the usual racist crap and the need for strong white leadership. Where the NF notably differ, from other British fascist groups is in thier adherence to the ideology known as Strasserism, based around the ideas of Hitler's excohorts, Otto and Grigor Strasser. The Strasser brothers, although leading figures in the Nazi Party, provided a challenge to Hitler's power and influence in certain parts of Germany. The Strassers worked out a formula for totalitarian control through 'socialism' within the nationalist framework. Manv people were conned by the myth of Hitlers' promises, but there again Hitler was a genius for intrigue and, together with Goebells, knew exactly how to manipulate opinion and expropriate power. To a certain extent Strasserism provided the 'socialist' credibility he desired.

The lessons learned from the 30's are not forgotten by fascists today. Webster's NF follow the Strasserite approach mainly for tactical reasons, but also because they realise that no totalitarian/authoritarian society can survive without due attention being paid to the needs of the masses. With this they are very close to the philosophy of State Socialists. Stalin may have been the epitome of Left/right totalitarianism, but even the welfare, corporate State ideas of Tony Benn et al. are not dissimilar to those put out by the Strasserites. One article in an NF publication even went out of its way to congratulate the militant tendency on its realism, but then went on to criticise it for its reactionary views 'He (Grant-leader of the MT) still has nothing to offer but the same old brand of State control as opposed to the worker's control advocated by the National Front!

What all this adds up to is that the NF is not of course supporting revolution, or worker's autonomy, or even the displacement of the bosses, but capitalism without corporatism, in ideological terms, , and elitist, authoritarian hierarchies, in real terms. Worker's control for the NF is merely a device for eliminating one form of control which they perceive as currently being in the hands of 'foreign' investors, especially jews (sic) - and replacing it with another form - British authoritarian, but proletarian. In other words the dictatorship of the proletariat within a strictly nationalist framework. And, guess who is going to be at the forefront, *leading* this struggle against Stae capitalism? But should we be surprised at the sort of opportunistic tactics the NF employ? After all the Trots have tried it for years and they have not got - not yet - a monopoly on entryism. Unlike the Trots though the NF have even less chance of conning people. It is bad enough talking to a Trot, but when you meet a fascist, all this 'socialism' crap just falls away.

Looking at 'Nationalism Today' and taking its contents purely at face value, apart from the odd racist comment, there is, indeed, little to distinguish it from the kind of material found in independent, 'left-wing', campaign orientated papers, traditionally concerned with other peoples problems.

One indication of the possible direction that the NF and their kind are going can be seen from a news report in a recent issue of 'Searchlight' a new organisation - callled the 'National Society for Worker's Initiatives' - had been formed during a recent meeting of invited guests at the headquarters of the League of St. George. The self-confessed aim of this organisation was to gain entry into local and popular community groups as well as the campaigns (anti-nuke etc), not merely to destroy them - such a difficult task - but to 'influence their direction'.

We've seen it all before. Even Webster's rivals can draw the right comparisons: in 'Spearhead' (a 1976 issue), Verral (an ex-associate of Tyndall) accuses Social Nationalism (the philosophy of the Strasserites) as representative of '....the perennial heresy of nationalist poloitics; it was preached before by the National Bolsheviks...it is Marxism in the guise of Nationalism.'

The 'radicalness' of the NF is not that unlike the populist calls for solidarity put out by the Italian fascist party in the 20's when it demanded the abolition of the Monarchy, disarmament, workers control (syndicalism) and the abolition of the Stock Exchange, etc. In one of their papers 'Popolo d' Italia' (April, 1920), they said 'down with the State, and all its forms'. But it was not long afterwards that Mussolini declared 'Italian fascism now requires...to provide itself with a body of doctrines...' As with the yet to come ideas of the Strasser brothers in Hitler's quest for power, so Mussolini realised that in order to be *given* the power he required - he did not, contrary to opinion, take power forcibly - he needed to develop a programme of 'socialism' alongside his campaign of threats, assassinations, etc. and his manouvres to outwit and seduce the centrists and labour reformists.

There are many parallells to be drawn. That between the totalitarian left and the totalitarian right has been mentioned, as also entryism of the NF as compared to that of the mainstream Trots. There is also a parall el to be drawn between the ideological base of the NF - but not the Strasserites – and that of the laissez-faire capitalist. Both believe in destroying *State* capitalism, collectivisation etc. Both believe in private ownership. However where they differ, is in the Strasserite concept of an economy run on full employment and protectionism and against all encouragement for the growth of multi-nationals. A further parallel can be drawn here with the 'right to work' ethic of the Labour movement and its Trot sympathisers. As for racialism, this can be found in the dealings of every political party - the instances are too many to document here.

It would be too simple and historically and ideologically inaccurate to propose that the fascism of the NF and their friends is basically no different from the fascism of State socialists/capitalists, but the similarities cannot be denied. The authoritarianism of Statists - whether capitalist, socialist, or even psuedo-libertarian - is fundamental to all those involved in power struggles. The N.F. will never succeed in their ambitions; their ideas however are not necessarily restricted to their own efforts or membership, nor do they necessarily need to resort to entryism when there are many other willing hands doing their work for them.

T.H.

INCITEMENT

After the November Brixton Riot, the local Council and the Police, together with the Press, dragged up the old charge of incitement against the local anarchist group. The Charge was ridiculous and totoally groundless. It is also elitist (and in this particular case racist) as it implies that those who participated in the action were incapable of deciding things for themselves: they need others to encourage or 'lead' them. Given the racism (black separatism) of many of those who were in the riot, the charge is even more laughable.

Incitement, in one form or another, is still, however, a feature of many anarchist papers. Our responsibilities, where we make threats, should be to do so only with the conviction that such threats are neither empty nor made on the (presumed) behalf of others. To merely exhort others to action, no matter how eloquent and righteous the plea, is merely the rantings of the frustrated.

'Direct-Action no matter what' is to be distrusted and can only lead to unnecessary arrests and mistakes being made. Anarchists and revolutionists have no monopoly on direct action. is also often used by fascists and neo-fascists as just another means of promoting populist-type insurrections, to which they can exploit to their own ends. A fascist who bumps off a cop or a politician is still a fascist and their actions are undertaken for fascist reasons. Likewise an 'Anarchist' who'inadvertently' harms innocent lives in the pursuit of their goal cannot be excused. It is both who you are *AND* what you do that counts. Should we, for example, support the actions of right-wing 'terrorists' where these acts are directed against State Leaders, on the basis that they will eventually help to weaken the State? Some comrades have already committed themselves to answering this question with their blanket support of the National Liberation package.

Resistance: against what and to what end ends? This is something we often forget to ask, especially in our enthusiasm for reporting news. To report on a superficial level, without first looking at the context is irresponsible. Our reporting then becomes dishonest - presenting an inaccurate and unrepresentative picture of what is really happening. We then delude ourselves, for example, that resistance may be greater than it really is. Again, frustration is the motive here. We clasp at straws and our 'actions' become more and more dependent on the printed word and less and less on the realities of everyday life.

mutual toleration

NEWMAN'S TROOPS

On Monday November 1 there was a riot on Brixton's front-line. It was just three days after Sir Kenneth Newman took over his new job as Police Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police. He brought with him his own street credibility learned from the back of squad cars and helicopters patrolling the streets and skys of Ulster. Everyone in the know knew he would one day make Commissioner. He was groomed for the part. In Ulster he was known as 'Mighty Mouse' on account of his small stature but ultra-tough reputation. There he pusued a policy of criminalising all forms of resistance while at the same time polarizing the support within the communities given to those at the front-line of attack from the paramilitaries.

He succeeded in developing a force expert in all the latest techniques of intensive policing, riot-control, intelligence gathering, counter-subversion and torture. It was the latter that got Newman into hot-water when the Castlereagh Detention Centre was condemned for using 'inhuman and degrading' treatment. Clearly Newman, having completed his 'experiment' now needed to learn a bit more about what was happening in the rest of the UK. So off he went to Bramshill - the specialist police establishment for serving officers - to lecture on his experiences in Ulster and on how he saw the future of policing in Britain and to learn from his future troops just how far they are capable of being pushed. He became "a bit of a celebrity" and gave lecture tours abroad and it was on one of these tours that he made his much publicised controversial remark about 'West Indians being indigineously anti-authoritarian' (sic).

BLUES CLUBS

Meanwhile, as Newman was courting power, there was the continuing saga of Brixton's 'Front-line', which, until recently, consisted of a number of squatted houses and shops in Railton Road, used mainly as 'Blues' houses by local black hustlers. These houses provided all-night enetertainment and a place to score dope, gamble, and get boozed up. Such 'unlicenced pleasure was out of the majority of cops grasp while to the local Council the premises in question were but an eyesore, contrary to their new clean-up Brixton sanitization programme. Since the '81 riots on the Front-line, the Council had, in fact, systematically employed a policy of 'rearranging' the landscape, involving the destruction of liveable homes (and even the local children's playground), the squeezing out of shop-owners, and the removal of squatters. With the latter they were none too successful.

BRIXTON SQUATTER'S AID

Since early 1982, some of the squatters in the area spreading out from the Front-line, had got together to form Brixton Squatter's Aid, an autonomous association primarily concerned with maintaining basic survival. Over the 8 months or so from its inception BSA successfully opened up scores of squats all over the Brixton area, helped to elicit the support of squatters not previously organised around any particular set-up, started a squatter's aid alarm list for those squatters who came under attack, successfully defended several squats that were raided, and published a regular fortnightly bulletin reporting on local *and* international squatting news.

CULTURE CLASH

The two 'scenes' - the Squatter's Aid Network and the 'Blues' House' - rarely came into contact with each other. They had different interests and different viewpoints. Many of those involved with the 'Blues' clubs were racist/separatist and authoritarian, especially in their general attitude and treatment to women; they were into their own culture and had hard and fixed attitudes about other cultures. On top of all this, the clubs tended to attract petty hustlers to the area to 'score and make out'. For a while there were almost daily reports of locals - black and white - being mugged and harrassed and at one point an anti-mugging campaign was begun, producing posters that equated the violence on the streets to the violence received at the hands of cops and the violence of fascist attacks. The muggings and the response all led to a degree of bad feeling. While all this was going on Lambeth Council periodically made noises about how they were just about to close down the Front-line houses and how local street-crime had to be squashed once and for all. Threats of eviction were a weekly occurence and added to the increasing tension. As these threats increased so many of the hustlers began to look for new premises for their clubs. Reports of new sitings came thick and fast and rumours abounded. Some petty pimps even made attempts to muscle in on the nearby homes of existing squatters and if they had succeeded this would have forced an unwanted confrontation. In the end, after many threats and resistance, the tension diminished.

SKIRMISHES & DIRECT ACTION

Such confrontations, though, were minor compared to those that everyone - black and white - faced from the local cops and the Council bureaucrats. After the '81 riots the police developed a deliberate policy of avoiding Swamp '81 type tactics. An alternative had to be sought. They made one or two mistakes. Early in '82, on two separate occasions, skirmishes occurred over the way the cops handled some minor incidents in the Railton Road area. On each occasion the cops were chased out of the Front-line area but restrained themselves from launching a counter attack: they were beginning to learn. For a while Railton Road managed to give the impression of being a 'no-go' area although when the cops did show up they did so suddenly and with force. For example, it was not uncommon during the summer to witness police helicopters circling overhead - sometimes hours on end - providing support to an operation down on the street level. At night the 'copters would use searchlights (and probably infra-red surveillance devices).

Since the '81 riots the local Council had gone Conservative (only just, with the help of SDP/Liberal Alliance Councillors and the Mayor's vote) and immediately implemented a policy to get rid of the squatters on a large scale. Very few of their attempts succeeded and the ensuing campaign to resist these attempts reached a crescendo with attacks by local activists on the homes and property of appropriate councillors. Certain Councillors were even sent fake eviction notices on Official Council Note paper - leading to recriminations, accusations and counter-accusations within the municipal offices. The Council had to 'do something' to 'restore public confidence'. At the same time the cops were itching to sort **out** the 'no-go' areas once and for all...**and then** came along Newman. The Stage was set.

Newman started the ball rolling with his flying-visit to Brixton cop station and to Notting Hill, where he advised his troops that they were to take no more insults from now on and that they were to remain firmly in control of their respective localities. His mesage: that there was to be a new era of policing: sophisticated and more precise in its methods. Two days later at 4am the Front-line houses came under siege.

BESEIGED

Newman's troops moved in quietly. None of the nearby residents heard them arrive. It was a smooth operation, well timed and succesful. The cops stood guard while demolition workers began their task. By mid-morning a crowd had gathered, but by then the police presence was considerable. Coming into Brixton from Central London was like walking into a set for a film by Costa-Gravas. The only thing missing were the armoured vehicles...everything else was there. The cops, of course, only admitted to a small presence and this mis-information was regurgitated in the Press and on TV. But the reality was that almost *every* Instant Response Unit, and every other back up unit across Greater London had been drafted in to lend support. Every street leading to the Front-line, together with secondary routes, had been blocked off; and stop and search was being used in a blanket manner. Brixton had been closed down, sealed off and placed under siege.

While the operation was being effected, so some of the squatters in the area, together with some of those directly affected by the demolition of the clubs, decided to march to the Town Hall. There were about 80 on the march. They achieved their objective and made their protest (all the Political Parties had agreed to and signed the Council Eviction Notice). But the main confrontation was yet to come and it was clear that it wasn't just one side that desired it.

ATTACK AND COUNTER-ATTACK

The Battle lines were drawn. But then the cops suddenly withdrew all their personnel out of immediate sight and the front line was left empty like a ghost town. They knew this would have one effect and one effect only: to encourage the illusion that the police had made a stategic withdrawal. The trick worked and people poured in from all over Lambeth and beyond (they would have come anyway after school, work, it got dark, they saw the news) The Front-line drew them like a magnet. The Pincers opened up to let them in and then closed again. Meanwhile on the Front-line itself: jubilation. It was April '81 again. Barricades suddenly began to be erected and someone in a mask turned back traffic, firmly redirecting them out of the immediate area. The crowd was young and almost all male. There was an eerie silence. Then a fire broke out. It was the work-huts on the demolition site. A nearby house opposite the Blues clubs was set alight. The crowd grew and suddenly windows were smashed, Molotovs thrown. The crowd - around 150 - turned down Railton Rd towards Herne Hill. They came to the Anarchist Bookshop, smashing windows on the way, and, as with the '81 riots, the shop was passed by, untouched. Suddenly the cops appeared: it was the IRU's dressed in black fire-proof overalls and wearing protective helmets and visors. They carried long thick staves and as they charged down the road they let out war whoops, banging their batons on the shields Zulu fashion. The crowd held out until the cops got within spitting distance, and then dispersed. They re-grouped and threw whatever they could at their attackers. They were dispersed once more. It was stalemate.

MOPPING UP

Then came the mopping-up. Frustrated by their failure to catch any of those directly involved in the riot in Railton Road, the cops turned their attentions on anyone foolish enough to be wandering the streets aimlessly and who could become the object of their revenge. We know of one incident where a group of punks had just left their home in Talma Road and were set upon by these thugs. They were ordered to stop, and, out of fear, one of them ran off but was caught at the next turning. The cops viciously set upon him dragged him to their van and beat him up. He sustained serious injuries to his arms and legs and has since been charged with assault. He is 17 years old. No one was safe on the streets and the cops continued to hunt down potential victims.

Back at the town hall, meanwhile, a Council meeting was in session to discuss the eviction of some squatters in North Lambeth, and some people from BSA arrived to cause trouble. They managed to disrupt the proceedings for a while and then left to provide whatever back-up they could to comrades being attacked on the streets. Elsewhere incidents were increasing: word had got around and looting took place in several main streets, and a police coach was set on fire. In Notting Hill the locals made trouble in solidarity and in Tottenham an IRU was called in (from Brixton) to disperse a crowd.

By 8pm more crowds had gathered in central Brixton, but realising the sheer force of the numbers against them, wisely decided to play it cool, 'take notes' and learn about the enemy. Later in the evening another building, near ColdHarbour Lane, was firebombed but by then the confrontation was coming to a close. The Brixton community was left to spend a long sleepless night, with the cops well and truly in control of the streets.

The next day, and for successive days, the cops continued to maintain their grip of fear. Coach loads of police were stationed on street corners day and night, while foot patrols were ridiculously frequent. At first little use was made of Stop and Search, although a group of people entering the anarchist bookshop were asked if they were carrying 'bombs' and their box of vegetables was examined. This policy of total saturation continued for a further 2 weeks. The squatters remained but the hustlers were nowhere to be seen. They had, in fact, merely moved around the corner to another street where they opened up new clubs.

'INCITEMENT'

The day after the riot the press was full of the usual accusations. The most ridiculous being that the local 'anarchist' group - specifically 3 whites, a woman and two men - had roused the 'mob' and incited them to riot. Councillor Robin Pitt claimed to know their names but told the papers that the police were unable to make arrests due to lack of concrete evidence. The farce continued when the next day a woman from the Workers Against Racism South London group (a Revolutionary Communist Party - Trot - 'Front') admitted she was one of those that the Councillor was accusing and that she had been in the thick of it and proud of it, taking a 'leading role'. This self-appointed saviour and publicity seeker got her comeuppance when she was told, in no uncertain way, to fuck off by local black activists at a post mortem held that week. She has since gone on to run as a Parliamentary Candidate in the much publicised Bermonsey Bye-election starring Peter Tatchell and others. The Press, however still looked for scapegoats and for a while raids were expected: incitement, something usually associated with books on 19th Century history, was the main accusation and the very impreciseness of the law associated with this charge only helped to increase the general feeling of vulnerability.

SURVEILLANCE

About 2 weeks afterwards, and a couple of days prior to the Press Release giving details of the new Police Powers Bill (see Page 12). The local Police Commander for Brixton Inspector Fairburn, announced that Officers from CII (Intelligence) and the A.T.S. were being seconded, on a permanent basis, to help monitor future developments on the Front-line. Furthermore, he admitted that the cops on the Front-line had been using and will continue to use sophisticated listening devices to keep track on the activities of potential 'muggers'. Coincidentally, Brixton is also the first area in Britain to incorporate the new System X switching system devised at Martlesham, Ipswich, by British Telecom. Apart from making it more difficult to sabotage the telephone network, system X provides the capacity to monitor all telephone calls *automatically* as well as automatic re-routing/blocking in State states of emergency, or whenever the authorities desire it.

Brixton (and Toxteth) is now becoming to the rest of Britain, in terms of policing, what the North of Ireland is to the UK, in terms of militarization. An experiment has begun and is now in process. But the experiment is two-sided, with both sides monitoring its progress. The watchers are being watched.. ....and it remains to be seen who learns the most.

Source: S.L.A.G.

LATE NEWS: Commander Fairburn has been replaced by Alex Marnock who has in the past been a commander in the SPG. In a recent press interview he remarked that in the future he would not rule out 'Swamp' style tactics. The SPG still exists and has been enlarged, with the IRU's as local versions.

Police in riot gear patrolling the streets are now regularly seen in and around a council estate-Broadwater Farm-in Tottenham, N. London. This is part of a strategic build up in that area, ever since youths from a local youth club held a protest outside the police station at the arrest of a friend on a trumped up burglary charge. The protest was broken up by an IRU.

No helicopter was seen during the riot because the one generally used by the Met. for Lambeth had to turn back; on its way it suddenly collided with an exploding flare which was let off. The flash probably affected the ultra sensitive night vision cameras. Just shows what can be done with a simple firework!!

Source: BSA/SLAG

Nearest the camera, Newman in Ulster 1976

WHY POLICE RAID ANARCHISTS

The doctrine of ANARCHISM has been propagandised without legal disability for 150 years in Britain and other countries where constitutional democracy has been practiced. Where a police state exists, it has been criminalised.

It is explained in the Encyclopaedia Britannica at length. It is the doctrine of society living without imposed authority, and without the State, sometimes described as stateless socialism.

Marxists object to anarchism because it is opposed to dictatorship and the rule of the party; they describe it as petty bourgeois. Fascists object to it by saying that it is criminal of itself — that all people have to obey the Big Brother State and, while they do not deny it is possible to live without the State, they hold it is undesirable and unpatriotic. Liberal democrats hold that anarchism is idealistic but utopian and impossible.

In general, journalists incline to the fascist view because of its sensationalism and pretend there is a vast, criminal, anarchistic conspiracy, sometimes justifying this by ascribing patriotic, religious or Marxist crimes to 'anarchists' (which never turn out to be true). Police usually follow this last line, (though it is generally only in the sticks that they can get away with it), because people of authoritarian views join the police and are conditioned to this view. An appeal can be made to the prejudices of right-wing judges by evoking 'anarchism' as if it were a crime in itself, though it is difficult to get away with this in London or with an enlightened jury.

[One dodge by artful counsel in court cases is to ask an anarchist if s/he is a pacifist, or belongs to the 'non violent' wing of the movement. There is no legal obligation to accept pacifism. This does not make one a criminal. Ask the counsel if s/he is a pacifist or belongs to the 'non violent' wing of the Conservative or Labour Parties. . . or if the judge does. . .The question is soon ruled irrelevant!]

Usually police who break into houses and take away property, only because they object to the person's politics, are committing a crime, though its is difficult to prove. They know this.

The theft of anarchist books, published without legal disability, is equally theft, though difficult to prove particularly when one is confronted by police who privately support right wing or fascist groups. It is usually the best policy to let them steal books in this way if a warrant is produced though you should let them know that you realise their intentions, vis. to try to criminalise opinions with which they disagree.

WHO DARES CONS

We heard from one of our intrepid reporters regading the well publicised Iranian Embassy siege, that the casualities were not all one-sided. We now know that at least one SAS member died and one was seriously injured. The injured man was identified in hospital by the only combatant who survived the assault. The SAS member who died was shot point-blank in the head and the SAS were able to achieve a cover-up about the fatality as the person in question was a foreign mercenary (Polynesian) with no traceable connections.

RESPONSIBILITY

About a year ago exactly, an army establishment near Cambridge was broken into and arms expropriated. A week after the 'Angry Brigade Resistance Movement' attack in Wakefield, another army establishment - this time near Nottingham - was raided, and detonators, grenades and plastic explosives were taken. The Cambridge break-in was claimed by the 'Angry Brigade'. No-one has so far admitted responsibility for the Nottingham theft. The 'Angry Brigade ' also claimed responsibility for a letter bomb, containing a minor incendiary , sent to No. 10 Downing Street. The letter, however, together with similar devices sent to other top government offices, contained communiques issued on behalf of the 'Animal Rights Militia' a hitherto unknown group (?) . Over the past six months letter bombs have been sent to Patrick Jenkin, the Industry Secretary, John Nott, the Defence Secretary, and other government ministers. This particular batch were all apparently, sent from Glasgow, and police therefore suspect Scottish Nationalist paramilitary types. The letterbombs were all intercepted and no-one was hurt.

FEEDBACK/LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

I wholeheartedly agree that Begin's nationalism is no different from Arafats'. Begin began in a 'terrorist' movement (in an anti-imperialist struggle against the British?) that committed acts of 'terrorism' (the bombing of the King David Hotel et al) just like Al Fatah and PLO. And, given time, the latter aim to have their own State, just like – if not in place of – Begin's. When/if this aim comes to fruition, will 'Nationalist Anarchist' still give her support?

Is a choice between one nationalism and another, no matter how 'revolutionary', any choice at all? And is our support to be given to one in preference to the other because it is Socialist, and the other is or is not? An SWP'er proudly informed a friend that he would support Russia in a war against America because the organisational structure of the State is already there for the working class to seize! What a prospect: the working class, to whom is entrusted the revolutionary task of abolishing class society, must inherit the repressive State machine that is the affirmation of class society! But it'll all be different then, because the revolutionary guardians will run society in our interests!

The Irish revolutionaries would do better to demystify the whole Irish situation. It is all very well to say that neither the Brits nor the Free Staters want a revolutionary organisation. But is the IRA revolutionary in an anarchist sense (ie is it anti-Statist)? It is not to be 'purist' (whatever that is) to oppose a revolutionary organisation because it is not anti-Statist. In many ways, these organisations are the more dangerous. If an enemy declares itself to be so, by word or by deed – by the very nature of its organisation – you know where you stand, at least. But then, can't 'Nationalist Anarchist' tell the IRA to be so, if not by word or by deed, by the very nature of its structure and organisation? If we must sow the seed of the new society in the shell of the old, then this is clearly not the way.

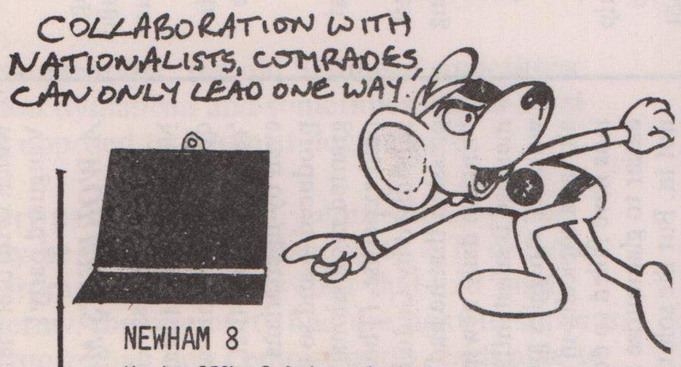
As an anarchist – at least, as someone who declares himself to be so, if no more than that, out of isolation, circumstances and frustration – I can understand that, when the IRA carries out offensive operations, both here and over the water, it is downright hypocritical of the moral bigots in government and in Fleet Street to condemn this as 'terrorism'. Yes, even when they hit not merely their target but bystanders, also! How many bystanders, innocent and otherwise, have been mercilessly murdered by the State? But then, offensive acts carried out by the State are acts of 'counter-insurgency' or 'war'. Only those perpetrated by 'illegal' or 'unofficial' organisations are acts of 'terrorism'. And only those perpetrated by individuals are 'criminal'.

However, it occurs to me that herein lies the reason or basis for those, such as 'Nationalist Anarchist', to give their support to these organisations, in the fact that they are 'illegal' or 'unofficial – 'extra-Statist' if you will. Did she (as I regret to inform you that I did!) actively support the National (Liberation) Front – NLF – on Grosvenor Square demos? (The NLF was engaged in an anti-imperist struggle against the Americans, remember.) The NLF have come to power. If she gave her support then, does she give her support now. If not, why not? The old slogans are re-hashed: 'Victory to – NLF!' becomes 'Victory to – IRA!'

Too true! 'If nationalism is wrong when it wins, why should people weep for it when it loses?' When Socialists (and anarchists!) wave the flag of an opposing Nationalism, in Ireland or anywhere else, they are only serving to mystify and to divert the class struggle. They are counter-revolutionary class-traitors! The losers – in the Falls and the Shanklin Road – are the workers, proles and lumpen alike, conned by the Statist interpretation of history, fed on a flag-waving frenzy of jingoism.

To gabble on about all that crap of the various (transitional) stages of history – Marxist determinism – is to douse the flame of social revolution with hopelessness. Must the Irish working class be sacrificed to a struggle of national liberation against the imperial power of Britain?! Why should the Palestinians consider themselves Palestinians first and human beings second? Why the Israelis? Why the Irish? – And 'Brits'?? These are nationalist concepts and nothing to do with the global class struggle. These concepts have served the ruling class well in recycling class antagonisms into national ones. They are even excused and given a revolutionary slant as the inevitable process of history by the followers of Marx. How much longer must this go on? Screw Marx and all the other philosophical servants of the Boss class! Don't follow no flags – don't follow no leaders! Struggles for national liberation, as far as anarchists are concerned, are non-struggles.

Leslie Reeve
Horley, Surrey.



NEWHAM 8

Up to 80% of Asian students in some schools and colleges in the London Borough of Newham came out on strike and demonstrated their support for 8 Asian youths recently charged with 'Conspiracy to assault persons unknown' by the police. The 'assault' is supposed to have taken place when the youths were challenged by the cops for appearing'menacing'. In fact, the 8 were in the process of protecting the children of a school, who had received threats by fascists that an attack was planned. Over the last few weeks, attacks by gangs of white youths on Asians have taken place with increasing regularity. Despite the arrest of the 8, the Asian community in Newham maintain that they continue to defend themselves against fascists. West Ham Magistates Court was picketted on 17 December when the 8 were committed for trial. Another 'Bradford 12', but on less serious charges, is looming.
Source: ASDNN

ANARCHIST TAPE EXCHANGE

Now in stock: A.T.E. Cassette No. 2 (approx. 90 minutes). Includes interview with Jean Weir of Anarchismo group, Catania, about latest situation regarding the campaign against cruise missiles at Comiso in Sicily; also recent news reports, music and satirical sketches, etc.

All A.T.E. tapes are useful for audio libraries or for air-time transmissions. A.T.E. is currently providing taped material for 'Radio Free Space/The Message' on 'Our Radio', 103.8FM/VHF, covering greater London. The programme goes out every Wednesday night from 9 - 10 pm.

A.T.E. would like to hear from anyone else putting out/or thinking of putting out radio programmes, to exchange ideas. andContributions to A.T.E. (high-quality, pre-recorded cassette material) should be sent to A.T.E. (ASDNN), BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3xx.

ATE cassette No. 2 costs £1 (plus 50p P&P UK, 75p others) Postal orders/cheques /money orders - to be made payable to ASDNN at the above address.

Still available A.T.E. 1 which covers the Brixton Uprising of April 1981, the murder of Carl Harp (an anarchist imprisoned in the USA), satirical sketches and songs from the Anarchist Songbook.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. Count von Bismarck, the parliamentary dictator, saw in the nationalisation of railways no threat to landed interests (on the contrary, he like other landowners, made a financial killing - the bigger in his case as he knew the plans in advance), but something that might embarrass some capitalist entrepreneurs - for whom he did not give a damn - yet help to preserve the weath structure and steal the "socialist" programme at the same time as he was persecuting them.

2. Roman Emperor Vespasian made the remark when he built public conveniences and charged customers for using them which he reckoned was consistent with his imperial dignity.

3. Henry Ford had the idea that using alcohol for fuel would cause a shortage of it for personal consumption!

4. He told them not to bother him but to get organised and take over the railways themselves.

5. Louisa Conroy (1882-1938), who ran the bookshop notorious for its anarchist, atheistic and unpatriotic displays, faced a largely drunken mob who were divided in view as to whether to burn it because it was a Papist centre of Sinn Fein or a Protestant birth control and anti-God conventicle, and in exasperation she threw a brick herself saying, according to the press, "The place is too good for the likes of you". (She later lived in Liverpool, and varied the story jokingly saying "I threw the brick because I was the only one there without sin".

CARDIFF

A warehouse was looted in Cardiff: M.V.J. cash & carry - mainly fancy goods and wrapping paper. Earlier on 17 October an adjacent building was damaged by arson; damage was estimated at about £1 Million. A week later the warehouse was looted: entry was made easy because of the fire-damaged building next door. Many of the looters got away, but about 12 locals were charged with a variety of offences.
Source: A.S.D.N.N./Cardiff

ANTI-STATE

DOCUMENTATION & NEWS NETWORK

The Anti-State Documentation and News Network is a long-term project designed to facilitate the circulation and documentation of counter-information and encourage greater participation in local intelligence gathering. It was conceived in response to a number of needs which can be identified as follows:

1. the need to be able to exchange news, especially urgent news, quickly and reliably
2. the need to develop an alternative investigation and intelligence gathering capability
and 3. the need to store information and research that is both fully cross-referenced and accessible

Currently the circulation of news is undertaken either on an ad-hoc basis, between affinity groups, or through journals/local papers, which often have long or non-coordinated copy and issue dates. Invariably, we end up relying on the capitalist press for 'up-to-the-minute' news and, if we are lucky, we might get to find out more details, through our own efforts, at a later point in time. Local on-the-spot reporting and news gathering is something we, more often then not, neglect—our own resources being limited or under-used. Even more severe is the problem of urgent news (arrests, riots, wildcat actions, etc.) and how such news is circulated to, perhaps, a wider number of contacts. On a totally different level, it is generally the case that the information we hold is dis-connected, patchy and prone to, often, unneccessary duplication. Some of us, for example, may be researching into the activities/movements of local fascist organisations, their links with other authoritarian/statist agencies, their financial resources and international connections; or, perhaps the dealings of a particular multi-national. But is such research—whether published or unpublished—ever keyed in to similar research undertaken elsewhere? And to what degree are we skilled at monitoring organisations, carrying out investigations, etc? And how do we document and disseminate the results of such investigations? To help counter these problems ASDNN has three specific proposals to make.

1. ANTI-STATE DOCUMENTATION INDEX

To assist in the development of an efficient and reliable News Network, regional Documentation Centres, responsible for the storage of local news/reports, counter-information/investigations,etc., could be set up. (A London documentation centre is currently being developed in south London; many other such centres exist in different countries, some having been in operation for many years.) A documentation centre is by no means difficult to set up: material can be loaned,donated, or simply 'pooled' from local activists or sympathisers. Neither need such centres be in one physical place: each centre could card index their material/information held (summarising the information,detailing what is covered and where it is stored—in terms of either regional centre and/or local contributor or contact). The regional indexes can then be cross-referenced and linked in with each other to form an ASDNN INDEX, which in turn would link in with international documentation centres and their indexes. From the ASDNN Index, 'files' could then be created and regularly updated:e.g. an 'International Anti-Militarism/Security Forces File', an 'Industrial/Company-information File', a 'Police and Policing File', a 'Fascists and Fascism File', etc, etc. The actual information would be held locally but linked together through ASDNN so as to help build up a more accurate and accessible data-base of counter-information. To a certain extent a documentation and news network already exists in embryo. Affinity groups naturally link up with others to provide support, exchange information, and publish papers, and in some cases form local/regional federations. To move on from this to a more efficient, wider communications network would be but a simple transition.

2. ANTI-STATE NEWS SERVICE

As a back-up to existing communication networks (local and regional federations, etc) and facilities (local and regional papers/radio, etc), a ASDNN News Service, to disseminate news and reports on a wide scale to as many contacts as possible, will be set up. The Anti-State News Service, published as part of the 'BLACK FLAG NEWS BULLETIN', will, hopefully, provide a valuable input to our existing media, regularly pooling and circulating news. The News Service will, of course, only function well if reports are sent in on a regular basis from as many contributors as possible. ASDNN will, in addition, create a mailing list of contributors/subscribers, to be used as a means to send out URGENT NEWS—news that is too important to wait for publication dates. The Urgent News Mailing is a two way arrangement: if it is critical, send it in and it will be circulated.

3. ANTI-STATE PUBLICATIONS

For the more in-depth research/investigations, these could be circulated and published as part of a series of reports using the 'pooled' resources of ASDNN contacts. Both the work-load and the financial requirement would then be spread out and minimised. ASP--jointly organised with 'Black Flag'--would operate on a strictly mutual aid basis: if you have material for publication, equipment to loan, or can offer financial support, distribution/promotional facilities, time and energy, etc, ASP will seek out and link together the appropriate contacts.

PARTICIPATION

The ASDNN Mailing List will cover Urgent News Mailings, Index and ASP updates. To subscribe to the ASDNN Mailing List costs only £1.50 U.K., £2 overseas per year to cover postage. Annual subscription to the News Service costs £9 U.K; £17 overseas and includes all issues of the (fortnightly) Bulletin as well as the Black Flag Quarterly. All cheques/postal orders/money orders for the Mailing List subscription to 'ASDNN' at address shown below. All cheques/postal orders/money orders for the News Bulletin subscription to 'Black Flag' at its temporary mailing address: c/o Box ABC, 121 Railton Road, London SE24. (This address is also the address point from which the London Documentation Centre operates.)

ASDNN, BM HURRICANE, LONDON, WC1 3XX

continued from page 1.

strong gathering as "trots ha hae" . . .

With the ejection of "old fashioned", so-called, Right Wing Members of Parliament, these expelled have refuge in their very own party, the Social Democrat Party – a party of MPs looking for an electorate – since, totally devoid of principle, they know that if they fight another election and lose, they will get a pension; and if they bow to the principle on which they were elected, of selection by committee, and stand down, they will forego the pension. The Labour Party has had a healthy purge of these elements; to the detriment of the Liberal Party, especially the Young Liberals, sold down the river for journalistic acclaim, who were to the left, in any normal sense, of the social-democrats, the Labour Party and the tapeworms in particular.

What is meant by Left and Right, anyway? There are three meanings: one class, one ideological, one deliberately misleading. Originally the term *left* implied working class – the farther right, the nearer the monarchy, the aristocrats; the farther left, the more working class until the extreme of poverty was reached. There is another meaning: in terms of progressiveness, liberality, tolerance, permissiveness and so on. Finally there is a third meaning, popular among journalists; the touchstone seems to be the attitude to Russia: e.g. in Lebanon, the rich, feudal, unprogressive and illiberal Muslims are described as Left Wing because they had Russian support for what it is worth; the rich, feudal, unprogressive and illiberal Christians are Right Wing because they are in the American camp, more or less, when it suits them.

TROTSKYISM IS A RIGHT-WING TENDENCY

No Trotskyist group is left wing in the working class sense, and it shows itself far to the right wing in any progressive or libertarian sense. Even in the third, misleading sense, Russia for years regarded them (and has only ceased to do so, for tactical reasons, so far as Britain is concerned, recently) as Fascist; the reason for Trotsky's build-up of a Party after expulsion from Russia has been given by the Stalinists as being due to aid from the Fascist Powers, and a Stalinist drive against ***all*** left wing groups – because of their sympathy of Trotsky the loser against Stalin the winner – was made, murderously, throughout the thirties.

There was indeed a "left wing communism" in Russia, but this was derided by Lenin and Trotsky as an "infantile disorder" unworthy of consideration. Trotsky in no way considered himself a "left wing communist". The Oehler following, in the USA, broke from them because they were "rightist".

The Troyskyist tapeworms entered the Communist Party in Germany, where they regarded the CP as the "mass organisation of the working class" and the only defence against nazism, so they consistently opposed it and weakened it fatally. That their criticisms and opposition were largely, in this instance, correct, is true; but to believe it the only defence against nazism and ***still*** attack it, is inconsistent unless one wants the victory of nazism, perhaps because of direction, perhaps to humiliate their arch-rivals, the Communist Party,

The China Trotskyism was consistently the right wing, in that is opposed any "adventurist" policy against capitalism, so that even the centrist Mao Tse Tung was appalled by their vacillation and was subseqently driven into the Stalinist camp before finally building one of his own.

In South Africa the trots built up a fairly strong organisation forced by circumstance into coming into the struggle, only for Trotsky literally to withdraw from the struggle, importing the entire Party to England so as to build a movement there, seeing in the Labour Party, "once rid of Macdonald and Snowden" (!) the mass party etc which had to be penetrated: "To support the Labour Party as the rope supports a hanged man" – said Lenin.

In Spain the trotskyists did not exist. But their attitude to it demonstrated their Ring Wing activity covered by Left Wing phrases more clearly than anything else.

Of the two trade union federations, the CNT and the UGT, the former was revolutionary, the latter reformist. The UGT entered the fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in order to build up its strength against the CNT. So far from this being condemned by the trots, even at a distance, they were instrumental in persuading Western trade unionists to rebuild the UGT – while never ceasing to denounce the CNT for entering the anti-fascist government during the civil war – a mistake, without doubt, but hardly on the same level. The trots denounced the Civil war from afar. They claimed the spanish workers did not need arms (the POUM in Spain, labelled as Trotskyist by its Stalinist opponents, which hardly was able to share these pseudo-pacifist views, suffered in consequence). What they needed (said Felix Morrow the trotskyist), was "a clear cut Leninist analysis".

When it came to the fascist invasion of the countries in which the trotskyists were living, the trots put forward a different if more clear cut "Leninist analysis" (for others): fight like mad. The English trots, having got into reserved jobs. were all for it. Not, of course to save the capitalists: but for "the defence of the Soviet Union", which might include saving the capitalists.

Notwithstanding their leftist phrases in criticism of the participation in a bourgeois government by the Spanish unions, the trots entered into bourgeois governments the moment they got the opportunity – not only as individual members in many countries (including Great Britain) but as a collective party in Ceylon. There they formed an integral part of the right wing opposition. They hastened to form part of the North African pseudo-Marxist governments where they could; and they obviously also want to give leftish cover to a right-wing Labour government in this country.

On nationalism, trotskyists consistently advocate it. Does this make them "left" of those who have lost their initial enthusiasm? Nowadays, as a sop to "left wing communist", they are at times "with workers control". But consistently they oppose any form of workers control that cuts out the State bureaucrats. It is enough to get "left wing" labour leaders. Reformist ones? Nothing causes more dread in the trot cricles than having a labour movement which is further "left" than the Vanguard party!

A WORKER'S MOVEMENT?

The trot press – Socialist Worker, Newsline, the Militant (perhaps not quite so), the this 'worker', the 'revolutionary' that – are all recognised even by libertarians, as excellently produced – and so they should be, granted professional journalism and paid expertise. (The daily Newsline was subsidised by Gaddifi, under the impression that he had got control of an "English daily newspaper"). But the message is substantially the same, though workers' struggles are depicted graphically and topically in a manner libertarians have failed to do – perhaps it is easier to glamourise struggles you're not in. But the solutions offered to workers' problems are substantially the same. "Maggie Out". By all means, "Maggie" out. So what? Change the government, (Michael out, Wedgie Out – or as Trotsky put it "Macdonald out, Snowden out" and all would be well. . .) and you change the one you chant for to get out! Always, Vote Labour – except on the rare occasions when 'we' put out a candidate and you can give a hundred or so votes to him/her. Nationalisation – oh, with workers control. . .! Support national liberation where it's in the interests of Russia. Defend the Soviet Union, attack the leadership of the USSR. Unemployment by State jobs, by the right to be exploited, by forcing older workers to take unemployment instead, and carry out this programme by appeals to the government in marches and demonstrations.

You can argue whether these points of view are correct or not, but they belong in the category normally described as Right Wing; they are merely cloaked in Left Wing phraseology. The tapeworms have succeeded, by their use of phraseology out of the textbooks, in persuading right wing Labour that they are its left wing. Fool them by all means: they do not fool us. Trotskyism belongs in the reactionary camp. Or to put it more plainly, Trotskyism belongs to the authoritarian ideologies, but is one that uses socialistic phrases to hide its illiberal tendencies.

A.M.

BLACK FLAG
Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross
Vol. VII 2 Feb. 1983

LOW INTENSITY POLICING

Currently going through the British Parliament, and likely to be made Law, is the New Bill on Police Power and procedure ('Police and Criminal Evidence 1982') The Bill covers stop and search, arrests, detention, treatment of prisoners, complaints procedures, etc. The first half of the Bill concerns itself with re-defining and, largely, widening the powers of the Police; the second half with legitimating and making statutory existing practices, particularly those that have been associated with the so-called 'Judges Rules'.

Part 1.1 of the Bill 'legalises' stop and search. In future the police will be able to:

'on reasonable suspicion search any person or vehicle...for stolen or prohibited articles and may detain a person or vehicle...' Prohibited articles in this case means offensive weapons - which can mean anything from a hammer to a bunch of keys - and items for use in burglary/theft (glasscutter, pliers, etc.). The Constable, having stopped and searched the suspect is then supposed to log the incident in writing. This is supposed to justify the legitimation of this increase in power, although in practice there is nothing to prevent the Constable from stopping and searching whoever s/he likes, as is normal practice, without recourse to this procedure. If the incident is logged, you can get a copy of the record anytime up to 3 months: this again is supposed to function as some kind of check on the misuse of this power. Sections 3.3 and 4.3 deal with road checks. According to 'Police Review', the Bill has, in fact, restricted the power of the Police to set up road-checks, in that they can only be allowed if authorised by someone in Senior rank. But the journal does not mention the important clause 4.3(G.) which states that road - checks can be authorised not only for the purpose of looking for someone who has committed an offence but 'that having regard to a *pattern of crime in that area* a serious arrestable offence is *likely* to be committed...' This means that your vehicle can be stopped and searched and detained at any time merely because of the area you happen to be in.

Part II deals with the searching of premises. 8.5 abolishes all the 'rules of common law under which a Constable has powers to enter premises without a warrant'. But the previous sub-sections of the Bill then legitimizes these rules and makes them statutory, defining all the possibiliteis by which the Police can enter and search premises.

Part III deals with powers of arrest and summary arrest (arrest without warrant). The major change proposed here is that an arrest without warrant should be for *any* offence (currently such an arrest covers only charges with sentences of at least 5 years) where the Constable considers it will prevent loss or damage to property, etc.

The remainder of the Bill deals with procedures at the Police Station, including our so-called 'rights', admissability of confession, treatment after arrest, and changes in the complaints procedures. The Bill recommends a code of practice to 'enforce' these procedures. By enforcement, it is not meant that by disobeying the code the police are thereby acting illegally, but that they *may* be subject to 'disciplinary' action. In general, while additional safeguards have been built into the procedures for dealing with the accused whilst in custody, there is nothing at all to prevent the usual abuse. Bail conditions, access to a solicitor, the 'right' to have a friend/relative informed of your arrest etc., are all still subject to the approval of the Police. Detention, with the exception of arrests under the P.T.A. is extended to a maximum of 96 hours - currently it is 48 hours.

Over-all the Bill recommends wider powers for arrest and harassment, but by including the proposals alongside the statutory recognition of the 'Judges Rules' and a (minor) proposal for 'democratising' the complaints procedure. The Bill is ensured a 100% chance of achieving both parliamentary *and* community consent. In practice the Bill, as soon as it becomes an act, will provide the police with a charter of approval to continue and broaden their existing methods of stop and search - which inevitably will be used most in areas where they are facing the most opposition: the inner city, council estates, etc. With the 'Sus' Law, you can be picked up for appearing or acting in a suspicious manner; with 'stop and search' the police are *encouraged* to threaten and harrass anyone for simply being in a certain area or for not appearing 'Law-abiding'. 'Sus' was too crude for the liberal, but S&S - although more reactionary - is acceptable. Low intensity policing - unspectacular, but wide-ranging - is now with us. Inevitably this will lead to a greater degree of confrontation. Our response will be flexible but more determined.

IMPORTANT!

BLACK FLAG READERS MEETING

The next Black Flag Readers Meeting will be held in Cardiff on Sunday March 13 at 11 am at the Urdd Centre, Conway Road, Pontcanna, Cardiff. All welcome.

@ @ @ @